Papers in pidgin and creole linguistics No.5

Mühlhäusler, P. editor. *Papers in Pidgin and Creole Linguistics No. 5.*
A-91, v + 213 pages. Pacific Linguistics, The Australian National University, 1998. DOI:*10.15144/PL-A91.cover*

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PAPERS IN PIDGIN AND CREOLE LINGUISTICS No.5

edited by
Peter Mühlhäusler

Pacific Linguistics

Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies
The Australian National University
Canberra

Published by Pacific Linguistics
Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies
The Australian National University
PO Box 1428
Canberra ACT 2601
Australia

First published 1998

ISSN 0078-7531, 0811-0026
ISBN 0 85883 474 X

Copyedited by Becky Quick, typeset by Sue Tys, maps drawn by Neville Minch

Printed by ANU Printing Service
Bound by F & M Perfect Bookbinding, Canberra

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PIDGINS, CREOLES AND POST-CONTACT ABORIGINAL LANGUAGES IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA

PETER MÜHLHÄUSLER

1. INTRODUCTION

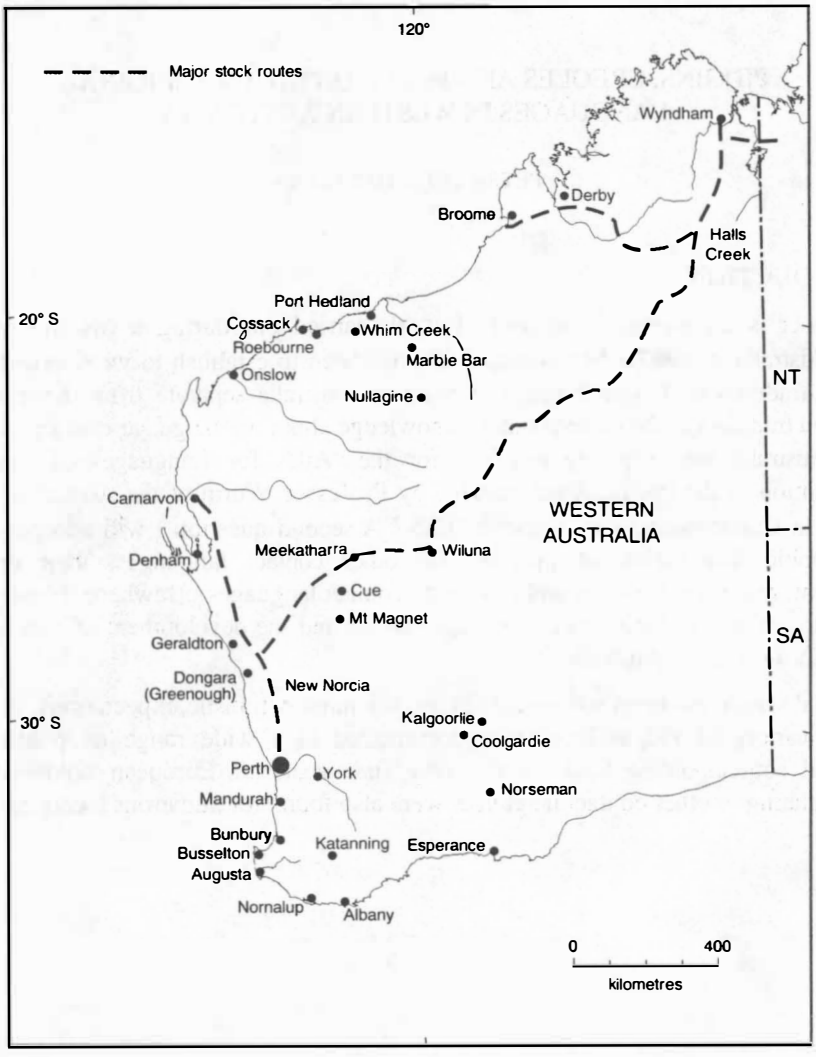
This paper is a preliminary account of work carried out during a two-month visit to Western Australia in 1987.[1] My principal aim has been to establish to what extent one can speak of a tradition of Pidgin English in Western Australia separate from the much better documented tradition in the eastern states. Knowledge about the language contact situation in Western Australia was urgently required for the 'Atlas for Languages of Intercultural Communication in the Pacific Area' initiated by Professor Wurm of the Australian National University in Canberra and the author in 1985.[2] A second question I will address concerns the geographic distribution of pidgins and other contact languages, their centres of development, routes of diffusion and links with contact languages elsewhere. Finally, I have attempted to address wider issues of language contact and the development of non-traditional languages in this part of Australia.

My initial search has been successful beyond my most optimistic expectations. A Western Australian variety of Pidgin English is documented in a wide range of published and unpublished sources-dating back to the very first years of European colonisation and materials relating to other contact languages were also found for numerous locations.

1 I am grateful to the University of Western Australia for a two-months' visiting fellowship that enabled me to carry out my research. This paper would not have been possible without the generous help of this institution and the encouragement I had from my colleagues at the Department of Anthropology during my stay, in particular Dr Susan Kaldor and Mr Alan Dench. A considerable proportion of the archival work for this paper was carried out by my wife Jackie and several of my students at the University of Western Australia, in particular Caroline Blumer, Patricia Downs and Terese Carr. Valuable advice was also given by Dr Sylvia Hallam, Department of Prehistory and Dr Veronica Brady, Department of English.

2 This project has been financed by research grants from the Unlversity of Oxford and the British Academy, without whose help much of the background research for this paper could not have been carried out.

Peter Mühlhäusler, ed. *Papers in pidgin and creole linguistics* No.5, 1–33.
Pacific Linguistics, A–91, 1998.



MAP 1: WESTERN AUSTRALIA WITH THE PRINCIPAL SETTLEMENTS MENTIONED IN THE TEXT AND MAJOR STOCK ROUTES

Whilst I have attempted to cover a fairly wide area I shall have relatively little to say about contact languages north of the 20° degree latitude, the area commonly known as the Kimberley. The reasons for this omission include:

a. Komei Hosokawa of the Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, has worked on the complex language contact situation in the multilingual pearling industry of Broome and has compiled a preliminary account of it (Hosokawa 1986).

b. The Kimberley, unlike most other areas of Western Australia, was settled from the east by cattle farming pastoralists from Queensland and the Northern Territory and their employees. This created a particularly complex linguistic situation which remains to be sorted out.

c. A number of detailed studies of Kriol structure and use in this area are available (e.g. Hudson 1983, 1984; Thies 1987 and Sandefur 1986).[3] My present paper concentrates on materials that have not so far come to the attention of linguists rather than better known ones.

I have illustrated my arguments with extensive text samples. Whilst these will affect the length of this paper it seemed essential to include them as most of them are either archival or published in obscure and inaccessible sources and have not been listed in available bibliographies for pidgin languages in Australia such as Reinecke et al. (1975) or Sandefur (1983).

2. SOCIO-HISTORICAL SETTING

Western Australia was first settled in 1827 by white colonists from England (rather than from New South Wales[4] as was the case with Queensland, Victoria and South Australia). In contrast to other Australian colonies convicts were not involved in the first years of colonisation. The southern part of the colony was occupied gradually between 1829 and around 1870 from the Perth/Fremantle area. The settlement of the north is more complex in that it involved both overlanders from the south-west and contacts from Queensland and the Northern Territory. Further complexity is due to contacts with additional groups of immigrants in the wake of the discovery of pearls and gold from around 1860. Thus, whilst in the agricultural south-east up to about 1870 intercommunication between English speakers and Aborigines developed in a gradual manner, later developments further North typically involved many groups (Aborigines, Europeans, Chinese, Malay, Japanese as well as immigrants from the Eastern states) and were often of a more abrupt and temporary nature. The hope of finding a single continuous tradition of Western Australian Pidgin English thus seems hardly justified by the socio-historical context of language contacts.

The prominent place that I have given to Pidgin English is motivated not by my research question (which was aimed at contact languages in Western Australia in general) but by the fact that other forms of intercommunication became very much marginalised as the public and private importance of English grew. Labels such as Neo-Nyungar (cf. Douglas 1968) like Hall's 'Neomelanesian' and 'Neosolomonic' (1966), conceal the fact that one is dealing with forms of speech that are lexically and otherwise very heavily influenced by English. Aboriginal lingue franche, such as Walmajari and Pitjantjajara are mainly found in the economically and demographically more marginal desert areas. The study of other Aboriginal settlement languages is at present in its infancy and many of the solutions for interlinguistic communication in urban areas and mission stations have remained undocumented. In this paper I can do little more than emphasise the urgent need for research on this question. It is for want of documentation that the bulk of my paper is concerned with languages used

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3 The importance of Kriol, unlike that of some of the languages discussed in this paper, has increased greatly in recent years in the context of the National Language Debate in Australia and the study of language and identity in Aboriginal communities (e.g. as discussed by Berndt 1986). This paper merely provides some of the socio-historical background which might help to clarify a number of issues in this debate.

4 The very early settlements, particularly around King George Sound in the southwest, were originally founded by government forces, as shall be pointed out below. However, throughout most of the period discussed in this paper, internal migration from the Eastern states was a much less important factor than direct settlement from overseas and internal migration within Western Australia.

between Europeans and members of other races. As regards its organisation, it is fortunate that geographical expansion and linguistic diffusion in Western Australia was such that the linguistic contact between settlers and Aborigines which began in the south-west was repeated over and over again as areas further north were opened up. It is for this reason that geography can be used as an organising principle. The exceptions are scattered and mobile groups such as the Chinese and Afghans who will be dealt with separately.

3. EARLY DEVELOPMENTS IN THE SOUTH WEST

G.F. Moore who arrived in Western Australia in 1830 characterised the initial communication problems in the following way:

> There are few situations more unpleasant than when two individuals are suddenly and unexpectedly brought into collision, neither of whom is acquainted with one word of the language of the other. Amongst civilised people so situated, there are certain conventional forms of gesture or expression which are generally understood and received as indications of amity. But when it happens that one of the individuals is in a state of mere savage nature, knowing nothing of the habits and usages of civilised life, and perhaps never having even heard of any other people than his own, the situation of both becomes critical and embarassing. It was in this predicament that the early settlers of Western Australia found themselves, on their first taking possession of their lands in that colony. The aborigines, suspicious of treachery even amongst themselves, and naturally jealous of the intrusion of strangers, viewed with astonishment and alarm the arrival of persons differing in colour and appearance from anything they had hitherto seen. Ignorant alike of the nature, the power, and the intentions of this new people, and possessed of some vague idea of their being spirits, or reappearances of the dead, the natives were restrained, probably by superstitious awe alone, from attempting to repel the colonists at once by direct and open hostility. On the part of the settlers generally, there existed the most friendly disposition toward the aborigines, which was evinced on every suitable opportunity, by the offer of bread, accompanied by the imitation of eating, with an assurance that it was "very good". And thus this term, "very good," was almost the first English phrase used, and became the name by which bread was, for a long time, generally known amongst the natives of Western Australia.
>
> (Moore 1884: iv of appendix)

A more detailed account of the patterns of the very early contacts between Aborigines and Europeans is given by Reece and Stannage, eds 1984. This publication is notable for its attempt to complement the numerous European biased accounts with Aboriginal interpretations, something that is also done by Reynolds (1981) and Dutton (1982) for other parts of Australia and the Pacific. Characteristic of these early encounters is the misunderstanding, on both sides, of the cultural rather than natural basis of many forms of non-verbal behaviour. For example, it is not clear why there should be a natural base to green branches as a symbol of peaceful intentions and the failure to get the message across in the following example (Stirling 1833:217) should not come as a surprise:

> After taking a little refreshment, we commenced our journey again, and in a little time met with a small party of natives; these are the first I have seen on this excursion. We got a green branch, (which is the emblem of peace) shouted, and made many signs, but all was unavailing; poor Mungo, I venture to say, was never in such a predicament in his life before; he shouted, and appeared to boil with rage, showed his spear and throwing stick, but when he found that all his bravado did not deter us, but that we still kept advancing, his courage forsook

> him, and the whole party took to their heels, and away they ran, hooting and muttering, yet apparently terrified beyond measure; and no wonder, for I suppose they had never seen an European before, much less a horse, with a man thereon. As they worship the sun, and probably other celestial bodies, they might think "the Gods had come down." Very little good land this afternoon. Saw thirty kangaroos to-day.

The successful establishment of contact in the next example, again involving Stirling (reported in Uren 1948:32) does not appear to be directly related to the use of natural sign language:

> The rule I had laid down for my guidance in all communications with these people was neither to seek nor avoid an interview. I adopted this plan as the one best calculated to prevent hostilities, for to approach a savage or to retire before him, I am persuaded, would both produce the same result: in the one case leading him from fear to strike the first blow and in the other tempting him to make conquest of enemies who, by retreating, exhibit symptoms of weakness and fear. It was with this view that I resolved in the present case to let our new acquaintances seek or shun us as they best pleased. At first they displayed great reserve but as we made no attempt to approach them, the warriors followed us along the bank, the women and children retiring out of sight. The woods now resounded with their shouts to which replied our bugle with equal loudness and with more than equal melody. At this point, appearances wore a threatening aspect, for the natives seemed much enraged and I judged from their violent gestures and the great noise they made that we should shortly have a shower of spears. The river was here only sixty yards across and as they had the advantage of a bank twenty feet high, our situation put us much within reach of annoyance.
>
> We, however, pursued our course until the bank became nearly level with the water, by which time they had assumed more confidence and began to mimic our various expressions of 'How do you do' and at last we held up a swan, which seemed to assure them, and having cast it to them, they testified the greatest delight at the present. This led to an interview which proceeded upon amicable terms. We gave them various articles of dress, a Corporal's jacket and three swans and received in return all the spears and woomeras. At length we were forced to tear ourselves away and they retired astonished at their acquisitions, intimating that they would willingly accompany the boats, but that a creek a short distance further up prevented their doing so. (Uren 1948:32)

I shall now leave such accounts of non-verbal communication alone and turn to the main topic of this paper, namely the development of verbal forms of intercommunication. Of the many solutions to the communication problem identified by Moore (1884), such as bilingualism, use of interpreters, and development of a pidgin, it is the last one that appears to have overtaken all others within a very short time. In fact, as early as February 1833 Moore provides us with examples of an English-based jargon or incipient pidgin in use around Albany. The following quotation (Moore 1884:163–164) serves as an illustration:

> On this day (Sunday) many of the natives came into the barrack during divine service, of whom some remained all the time, and conducted themselves with great decorum. On Monday they were drawn up in line, and addressed in the following speech by Mr. Morley, the storekeeper, while we all looked most ludicrously grave.
>
> Now now twonk, Gubbernor wonka me wonka
> Now attend, the Governor desires me to tell the
>
> black fellow, black fellow pear
> black man if the the black man spear

white man white men poot.
the white man the white men will shoot them.

Black fellow queeple no good.
If a black man steal it is not good.

Black fellow pear black fellow no good.
If a black man spear a black man it is not good.

Black fellow plenty shake hand black fellow,
If the black man be friendly with the black man,

no black fellow no queeple, black fellow
if the black man do not steal, if the black man

give him white man wallabees, wood come here,
give the white man wallabees, bring wood,

water come here, white man plenty shake hand
and bring water, white man will befriend

black man, plenty give it him bikket,
the black man, and give him plenty of biscuits,

plenty ehtah, plenty blanket, arrack,
plenty to eat, and give him blankets, rice,

tomahawk. Now now Gubbernor wonka me give it
tomahawk. Now the Governor desires me to give

him one guy black fellow one guy knaif.
each black man one knife.

A knife was then suspended by a riband round the neck of each; thus ended the ceremony, and they were dismissed, a set of wealthy and happy mortals.

Examples of a similar type of language are found in several other sources relating to the first decade of colonisation. The following example comes from Dr A. Collie's *Anecdotes and remarks relative to the Aborigines at King George's Sound, Perth Gazette and Western Australian Journal* (July/August 1834):

> Nakina raised himself to an erect position and instantly demanded, with the utmost earnestness, "'pear, 'pear," (give me spears, give me spears,) to which not immediately understanding we replied "Yes, what for?" "Me 'pear black fellow, plenty 'pear". We now as speedily not only withdrew our assent, but insisted it was very wrong to spear persons of a neighbouring tribe, because one of his own had died. He seemed little influenced by our reasoning and remonstrance, and said "Commandant 'pear?" (will the Commandant give me spears?) to which we also gave the negative, and continued our solicitations, promises and remonstrations to induce the abstaining from so barbarous a custom; all, however, we could obtain was, "me boo-matt tittel". (I will go into the bush a little way) "King George come". (And then come back to King George's Sound.) To our further questions, he said he was not going to spear any of the Will tribe, and that they were now "good fellows".

In the same anecdotes (by Collie 1834) several other passages of this early contact jargon are given, suggesting that Albany, which was settled from New South Wales, was perhaps the earliest focus for the development of PE in Western Australia. (Compare also Green 1983). Other such passages are the following.

> The dark motives of my swarthy friends were unblushingly exposed, immediately the little boy turned to go to the house where he lived, "bicket" "Me

> wangker (tell), Charlie Brown; top" (stop.) "Kai (yes), me wangker plenty;" "me very good." This concise and urgent appeal made laughing, shewed me at once that the hypocritical heartless rascals. for whose sense and humanity their advice had raised my temporary estimation were jesting with the sufferings of the poor boy.
>
> and
>
> The answer that had been given to our inquiries - when Talmamund would come back?" "where he was?" (by and bye come mat tittle) - i.e., he had only gone a little way into the interior and would be back by and bye, was no longer repeated.
>
> and
>
> Several natives were about the Settlement, and two, in open day, before the old man's face, walked off with his two remaining wives, to his irretrievable loss, and, therefore, inconsolable wailing that was poured forth, and unavailing, although repeated, koo-ees (come back!) "Tannaké, koo-ee; Koondeetshee, koo-ee; Tannaké, koo-ee" (Tannaké and Koondeetshee, the names of the two women.) (Collie, *Perth Gazette and Western Australian Journal* 1834)

Similarly extensive examples, again relating to the King George's Sound or Albany region are found in George Grey's (Governor of South Australia's) Journals for the years 1837-9 (Grey 1841). An interesting utterance containing the Nyungar negator utterance-finally is reported for his aboriginal companion Kyber (1841: 365)

> "Come in, come in; Mr. Grey sulky yu-a-da"
> "Come here, come here. Mr. Grey is not angry with you."

A couple of other features of this early contact jargon, sentence final verbs and the emergence of em/um as a marker of transitive verbs, are in evidence in the following request (p.245) "Poor fellow, sixpence give it 'um".

As settlements were established further away from Perth, the early Nyungar-English contact jargon was either transplanted or reinvented.

At Australind in 1843, the Reverend Wollaston (1948:151), whilst deploring the lack of English and the inadequacies of Nyungar, nevertheless gives an example of an emerging English-based pidgin:

> But there is no place for me to officiate in of the most ordinary kind, even were my offer accepted and I do not think it would answer any good purpose to preach under a tree. To the heathen, could they be made to understand me, I would not mind doing so, but they must first be taught the English language, for theirs is quite an unmanageable tongue, consisting chiefly of barbarous guttural sounds, incapable of being reduced to any rules of grammar. They now and then come peering into my little Church, with soft steps and grave inquisitive looks. Poor creatures! May God lift the veil from their eyes and when He does so, teach them to avoid their white brothers' bad example. Their name for a house is "mire" (mia)[5] therefore they call my Church "white man's Sunday mire."
> (Wollaston 1948:151)

To the east of Perth, at York, a more sophisticated version of the jargon, containing a number of grammatical conventions, is reported for the mid 1860s (Millett 1872:83–84):

---

5 It is not clear to me, whether *mia* is a Western Australian word or whether it originates in Queensland.

> I took some pains to learn the native vocabulary, and was much interested at finding that the word "me-ul," signifying "an eye", which figures in the little list of words written down by Captain Cook from the lips of the savages that he met in New South Wales, was used in the same sense by our friends of Western Australia. I did not, however, attain to much proficiency in the study, and beyond an ostentatious display to Khourabene of any new word or phrase which I had picked up, was obliged to content myself with the conventional jargon which is universally adopted in speaking to the natives by all who are not really conversant with their language. This sort of hotch-potch is composed of native words largely mingled with English, and is better understood by the natives than plain English; it consists also in getting rid of all prepositions, driving the verbs to the end of the sentence, and tacking on to them the syllable "um" as an ornamental finish wherever it sounds euphonious. Thus I heard Khourabene calling out one day, "Dog hollarum, water wantum"; implying that he thought our house-dog was whining with thirst. A large quantity of anything is expressed by the words "bigfellow", as "big-fellow-rain", "big-fellow fond of", but in showing pity or condolence "poor old fellow" is the received form, and is of such universal application that it is quite as suitable to a baby cutting its teeth, as to the moon suffering from eclipse, a misfortune which is laid at Jingy's door, who is supposed to have put out the light maliciously by carrying off the moon's fat. "Quiet fellow" and "sulky fellow" have an almost equally wide range, the first signifying any conceivable degree of amiability, either in man or beast, and the latter ferocity to a like extent. The words "get down" have been chosen as a synonym of the verb "to be" and the first question of a friendly native would be "Mamman all right get down?" meaning "is father quite well?" for strange to say Mamman is the native word for "father" whilst N-angan or Oongan stands for "mother." (Millett 1872:83–84)

By the early 1870s the first anonymous (probably J.E. Hammond) and undated collection of phrases in the contact jargon had been compiled, featuring, among other things, the speech of Aboriginals from Pinjarrah and Bunbury. Because of the considerable historical importance of this document I shall reproduce it in full (spelling unmodified):

> Some of the ways the natives comenced to use the white man's language when asking for anything in the early sixties. Letters of the alphabet the natives did sound correctly and was used in native names
>
> b e g i j k m n p q r y
>
> native asking for Bread.
> hungry Pullar me you givitum me bread
>
> asking for tobaco
> you good Pullar me wantum Backer you gattum Pipe
>
> asking for tea and sugar
> you givitum me tea little bit, chugar little bit, big Pullar tuesty Pullar me
>
> asking for fat Pork.
> you gettum Pig meat Pat Pullar. me big Pullar likum Pig meat. big Pullar good one.
>
> The natives were very fond of fat Pork
>
> asking a white woman for a dress and pettycoat
> misey you givitum me good one dis and inside one
>
> Black man asking how white man make tobaco
>
> Black man: Which way makum backer white pullar
> white man: dont make it. It comes from another far away Country.

> Black man. White Pullar come on nother one Country Par away. Must be makum first time come on.
>
> Meaning the white man must have made tobaco before he came to this country
>
> Natives ask
>
> What por white Pullar Eatum Ghalt (salt)
> Dat one no good say the natives
>
> A native women asking Mrs Dr Bedingfield of Pinjarrah for some washing
>
> Misey me washum you
> What for you wash me asked Mrs Bedingfield me not washum you. washum me you des Ebery ting good one.
>
> In the early seventies a Bunbury native meet the then Sir John Forrest in Hay Street and said to him g'day Mr Forrest you got old suite atrouses you givum me. My trouses to big for you belly said Sir John. no to big sleep inum me kold Pullar night time
>
> A black woman was helping a Mrs Cooper with some washing. this black women had two children with her one about 3 years of age the other about 6 months the Elder one was crying very much and trying the patience of his mother at last the mother shouted out to the child What por you noise makum dis one while woman you shamed ought to be you quite pullar be. The little chap had not learnt his own language let alone the broken English.
>
> native to white man mises
> me catchetum you Pish (fish) first time you givitum me Backer
> If he caught some fish first would he give him some tobaco
>
> A native asked Mr Hymes school master Pinjarrah
>
> What por boy gal learnum paper talk. The School master. Alsame you stick wangi native. No alsame stick wongi. Boy gal cant catchum that one (meaning that boys and girls could not understand the letter stick)
>
> Back in the sixties at Pinjarrah a native women was very popular amoung some of the white women who had been trying to teach her something about god and heaven that she must not steal or tell quillyarn (lies) if she did that god would punish her if she told quillyarn. One day this Black woman made a statement about some figs. The truth of which was doubted by one of these white women and she questioned the Black woman very closely to try and get the truth. At last the Black woman looked up into the heavens opened her eyes as wide as she could stretch them and putting hands up at the same time said god can see. This ended the cross questioning. The white woman had made a good impression.

Further north in the Nyungar speaking area, at Nova Norcia,[6] similar varieties of reduced English were also in use, though the grammatical regularities reported by Hasluck (originally written in the 1860s) are not typical of the entire Nyungar territory:

> These natives were quite gerious at first, explaining how they had heard that 'Big Guvna' was passing that way, and how they had come from far, just to look at him.

---

6 New Norcia was founded by Bishop Salvado and Spanish and Italian monks as a mission, seminary and boarding school for Aborigines. The lingua franca in this place appears to have been a reduced form of Italian. samples of which are given in the Salvado Memoirs (Stormon 1977). A fuller investigation of this 'pidgin' would require work in the mission archives at New Norcia.

> They were not dreaming of begging, and looked sleek and fat, with lots of furs and blankets. One of the gentlemen put some finely scented chopped tobacco into the hand of a man who was only looking on, not talking. He sniffed it, found it different to the strong coarse stuff he knew, and hastily returned it, shaking his head and smiling, as much as to say, 'That's a good joke, but you don't take me in!' So the other gentleman hastened to explain that it was 'Guvna's baccy' and all right. Then they sniffed it again and finally decided to venture on it, amid much low laughter. 'We keep-um, nothing bad'; 'um' has to be added to nearly every word, and 'nothing' is the only negative they understand; 'nothing bad' means 'not bad'. (Hasluck 1963:68)

In the days of the early settlement, communication between white and black children was the norm and this again was an important context for the development of the contact jargon. In his "Reminiscences of Perth" (Shenton 1927:8) remembers: "In the days of my boyhood, the natives used to talk a bit of English and most of us boys used to talk a little bit of their lingo."

Fred H. Moore, son of the above quoted Samuel Moore, who was born at Oakover, Middle Swan, in 1839, reports similar experiences:

> There used to be numbers of natives camped about Oakover in those days, and I remember a native chief, Moylie Dobbin, whom I knew very well, giving me a great start one cold, wet day. I found him warming himself by the fire under the laundry copper at Oakover and one of his eyes was injured. I asked him what was the meaning of it and he said: "Me mindick (sick): blackfellow (s)pear him. Plenty rain and cold". (Here he made gestures that it was all cloudy and pointed to his eye. "Bimeby plenty sun and (pointing to his eyes) all same, all same". He meant that his sight was clouded now but it would get better. (Moore 1931:65–66).

and

> On another occasion I said to this native: "Why are you a little man (he was slightly built) and you a very big chief?" He replied: "You know so and so (naming a chief); he big fellow like that (holding up his forefinger). Blackfellow (s)pear him (knocking down the forefinger with his other forefinger). He dead. You know so and so. He fat fellow (holding up his middle finger). Blackfellow (s)pear him. He dead (knocking down finger). Moylie Dobbin all same (holding up little finger). No can (s)pear him (illustrating the spears missing the little finger). All same Moylie". Nevertheless Moylie had two spear wounds on his body. (Moore 1931:65–66)

Most of the data surveyed so far relate to communication between European settlers and Nyungar speaking Aborigines. However, we have indications that the contact jargon was also used for inter-Aboriginal communication. Perhaps the earliest place for the crystallisation of an Aboriginal Pidgin English in the south-west was Rottnest Island, which was used as a prison island for Aboriginal prisoners from the 1830s onward. I have not yet studied all documents relating to Rottnest but it seems that a fairly sophisticated version of Pidgin English was spoken there by around 1860. Lady Broome, wife of the governor of Western Australia, reports the following impressions of one of her numerous visits to the island:

> Even after they are shut up in their prison at night in cells, which are a thousand times more comfortable than their *Mia-mias*, or huts, the warders do not prevent their singing, and talking, and laughing; and if they keep up the noise too long, a good-humoured "Come, come, boys; too much noise make-um" from the superintendent is enough to restore quiet and peace directly.
>
> The natives are seldom actually lazy, though they cannot be said to like hard work; but the light tasks to which they are put generally interest and amuse them,

> and they behave perfectly well. Your father goes out quite alone after his ducks of an evening, with a couple of murderers as retrievers, and it is very amusing to hear their conversations. One man, Peter by name, is going out of prison next month, and is very fond of telling us what he would 'Give Guvna eat-um', if he came to see him up in his own country. 'Wild turkey give-um, fish p'raps; very good lizard, plenty worms' (I forget the unpronounceable name he has for this delicacy), 'show Guvna how kangaroo spearum', and so forth. Peter's little mistake consisted in spearing a woman who was wrangling with his wife. He declares he only meant to spear her leg (a spear in the leg is considered the gentlest possible hint that your company is not desired just then); but 'wife knock up hand, spear go so, hit woman throat; she very sick-die. Peter nothing bad fellow, woman bad fellow, come wife talk-um.' That is his idea of the affair; but I think he has learned over here not to be quite so ready with his spear.
>
> (Hasluck, Broome and Broome 1963:111)

Lady Broome also encouraged the prison superintendent of Rottnest Island, W.H. Timperley, to write down his experiences with Aborigines. Carr (1987) makes several observations on Timperley's rendering of Pidgin English in *Harry Treverton his tramps and troubles* (edited by Lady Broome) (1889) (and *Bush Luck an Australian story* (1892)):

> One chapter of *Harry Treverton* (set in the 1860s) retells a shingle-splitters yarn told at the splitters camp about the capture of a native wanted for spearing (possibly located in the York area i.e. 25 miles from Perth near the Travellers Rest). The policeman has a warrant for the arrest of a 'black fellow' named Bob for spearing a woman
>
> "Well, you bet, he felt a bit uncomfortable, for he says to the policeman, trying to grin, but looking rather cautious all the time, 'You Think-um white fellow hang-um mine?' 'Only one time hang-um you' says the policeman, 'and then let-um you go'."
>
> (Timperley, edited by Broome 1889:90)

Mrs Millett is not the only observer who felt that *-um* was added indiscriminately. Although Timperly did not go so far as she. In a footnote to the passage above Timperley informs the reader that "The natives of Western Australia add *-um* to the verb", although this is contrary to some of his examples with intransitive verbs. Later in the yarn Bob has escaped and eludes the police:

> 'Policeman fool too much', Bob would say; 'walk-about, walk-about, can't catch-um mine. My word, horse very near kill-um; too much tired. Policeman near dead; too much walk-about walk-about. Nothing catch-um Bob; nebber catch-um mine, policeman fool too much.' (1889:92)

Somerville gives an example of how the Rottnest prison system helped the diffusion of Aboriginal Pidgin English to more remote areas, in this instance to Geraldton to the north around 1870:

> So the prisoner set off cheerfully, carrying his own commitment to gaol for 12 months, to the constable at Geraldton. Six months afterwards the J.P. was in the district again and to his astonishment was accosted by the culprit with the cheerful air of one who has participated in a joint enterprise and expected commendation for the part he had played therein. On being asked sternly if he had delivered the message to the constable at Geraldton he replied "Oh yes, boss, I take paper talk. I walk, walk, get very tired, meet my uncle and gib him paper talk, take constable." As soon as possible the uncle, a prisoner by proxy, was retrieved from Rottnest and brought home to fame among his fellow tribesmen as a traveller returned, who could tell of strange men and places he had seen on his travels. (Somerville 1949:75)

That prisoners at Rottnest came from areas much further north is reported in several sources, for instance in Johnston (1962:175) where reference is made to a native policeman of the name Monday. "The sergeant stated that Monday was thoroughly civilised, as he had served a term at Rottnest Island for cattle stealing".

The importance of diffusion from the south to Geraldton and far beyond can hardly be overestimated, as the fate of Pidgin English in the south itself was sealed by the turn of the century. Hammond (1933:13) describes these changes as follows:

> In the 'eighties and 'nineties there were several white people who could speak the South-West language well, and could converse with the natives; but the only difficulty was that these people only knew the natives who came and camped near the towns or came to the doors of their homes. It was necessary to know something of the whole country in which they lived. The natives, too, were changing. They were beginning to drop their own tongue. They thought they would place themselves in a better position with the white man if they learned to speak his language. They were great imitators, and once they found there was a difference between their ways and the ways of the whites, they began to try to copy the white man. The-half-castes and the blacks coming in from other territories also did much to destroy the true dialect. The blacks forgot or became disinclined to talk about their ceremonies. (Hammond 1993)

Examples of Nyungars employing Pidgin English become rarer as time goes on in the literature surveyed and those that are reported tend to portray Aborigines in the role of marginal onlookers rather than active participants in intercultural encounters. Two examples from the satirical magazine *Possum* illustrate this:

> The Possum, Sat October 22, 1887
> Two niggers appeared on the training ground one morning and appeared to be deeply interested in the gallops. At last when Duration and Telephone had finished their spin - one of the darkies said "Well which horse winum race t'morning Boss?" and even Towton couldn't tell.
>
> (a) The Possum Oct 15, 1887
> CONVERSION OF AN OLD CONSERVATIVE - An aboriginal native who gave evidence as a witness in the Supreme Court received a certain allowance therefor which was denied to his "womanny," who had attended, but had not been called, expressed his indignation with charming volubility, winding up, "Pom my word, me tink pretty near time we hab "Sponable Guvmet!"

One of the immediate consequences of these social changes was the functional spread of pidginised versions of English into many areas of Aboriginal life and the gradual replacement of a Nyungar-Pidgin English bilingualism by a Pidgin English-English one. How these changes are reflected in language can be seen from a passage quoted by Hammond (1933:13):

> Some years ago I was talking to an old man of the North tribe about things in general. I asked him how old he was. He said that he was sixty-seven. He had learned to count and read and write at New Norcia. I then asked him several questions in the native language. "Oh, I don't know," he said. "I forget all black-fellow language now." asked him if he would like to talk his own language again. "No," he answered. "It would be no good to me now. I do all my business with the white fellow and have to talk with him in white-fellow talk. Plenty other-country blackfellow here now. All talk different. This-country blackfellow can't talk to them. Better we talk whitefellow talk. We have to wear the same clothes, eat the same food. We are now all the same white men."

Douglas (1968) seems to suggest that a diglossic situation continues in some parts of South Western Australia. The two varieties involved are the (low) Neo-Nyungar "a combination of elements from the native dialects and English" (pp.8,9) and Wetjala "normal Australian English of the country farmer and townsfolk". The following example of Neo-Nyungar (from Douglas 1968:17) shows that in many ways this form of language is very different from the earlier samples of English Nyungar Pidgin English:

PHONETIC TEXT WITH LITERAL TRANSLATION

hʌ'lʌʊ 'ɻɔᵛnɯ / 'nʊŋas stɯl: 'fʌnɯ 'iyʌ /
Hello Ronnie. Nyungas still funny 'ere.

ɔl ɔn̄ ðʌ 'na·l̥ʌŋ yʌ nʌᵛ ʌn stɯl:
all on the 'wine' you know an' still

ækn ðʌ gʌᵛt / yʊlaftʌ kʌm n
actin' the goat. you'll 'ave to come 'n'

'p'ʊtʌm st--- (laugh) / ɔ· 'diʌ t'ʊ·
put 'em st(raight). Oh dear, too

'fʌn̄ / wɪ mɪs yu / θɪŋz mʌɪ̇t gʌʊ 'dɪfrɛnt
funny, we miss you. Things might go different

wɪ'ðʌᵛ ʔwɪðyu· 'iya / 'na·l̥ʌŋ ɪz ðʌ
withou- with you 'ere. Wine is the

'prɔblm 'yʌ bɔɪz / 'nɯŋas t'u· 'fʌɯ̇ /
problem 'ere boys. Nyungas too funny

ka·t 'waɻa 'pipʌl 'iyʌ //
'silly in the head' people 'ere.

FREE TRANSLATION

Hullo, Ronnie! The native people here are still unChristian in their ways. They are all given to wine-drinking, you know, and still acting foolishly. You will haye to come and put them right. (Laugh – 'What a thought!'). Oh dear, too bad, we miss you. Things may have been different had you been here. Wine is the problem here, boys. The people are too wicked, they are people who are silly in the head.

Before leaving the topic of Pidgin English in the South-west I should briefly mention that, in the eastern parts of Western Australia, there appears to have been significant influence from another Pidgin English tradition brought from South Australia via the Transcontinental Railway and by goldseekers flocking to Kalgoorlie in the 1890s. Numerous linguistic examples are given in Bolam's *Trans-Australian Wonderland* (1929). Finally, mention must be made of several other contacts with pidgin languages spoken elsewhere. From the very early days, American whalers visited Western Australia and South Seas Jargon may well

have influenced local developments.[7] Chinese labourers and some Afghan camel drivers were brought to Western Australia from the 1860s onwards (see §5. and §6. below) and there were also considerable economic, demographic and cultural ties with the eastern states. As with other pidgins, Western Australian varieties did not develop in splendid isolation even in the early days.

4. DEVELOPMENTS FURTHER NORTH: OVERLANDERS, PEARLERS AND GOLDDIGGERS

The development of the north-west of Australia centred around three industries: a) the pastoral industry, b) pearling and c) its minerals. Each of them created new raisons d'être for language contact and contact languages. From the point of view of linguistic continuity, the pastoral industry seems to be the most important one. Large parts of Western Australia, particularly the Pilbar(r)a, were settled from the south and the first settlers brought with them Aborigines who had worked with them previously and could now serve as linguistic models for the locally recruited labour force. The pattern of detribalisation and decline of the indigenous population that had accelerated in the South became equally characteristic of the North, the principal difference being the lower population density and greater distances.

The closest links with the South existed for centres such as Geraldton and Carnarvon that were connected with the South by Stock Routes and later by roads. Carnarvon, about 600 km north of Perth, was founded in the early 1880s as a harbour for the import and export of commodities pertaining to the pastoral industry. The establishment of the town created several new opportunities for close contact between Aborigines and Settlers, including the employment of around 20-30 native prisoners at any one time in road and construction work, the setting up of a small Chinese settlement comprising shops, laundries and similar service-oriented businesses and, finally, missionisation.

As yet, I have found few examples of Pidgin English as spoken around Carnarvon. However, what little evidence there is suggests interesting linguistic similarities with southern varieties. Thus, Memory (1967:75) reports the following account of the early days of the mission:

> ...remember one day a poor, old dirty native came up to the door of our house and showed her bare neck. Upon our asking what she meant, she said 'Me wantem dressey', and when my wife gave her an article of clothing, she jumped with delight and shouted, 'You wobbinger Mission fella. You Me Sister', she threw her arms round my wife's neck and kissed her. On another occasion, a poor native came and flung herself down at our door and said, 'Me Mendie' and placed her hand on her chest. I understood that she was in pain there; so I gave her a little medicine and kept her warm for the night; and in the morning she was better and able to go on her march into - the bush; There was one man who hung about the place for some time. I could not get him to do anything. All he would do was to eat and keep close to an old umbrella that was hanging up. At last I found out that he wanted this gamp; and on my presenting it he departed, carrying it over his shoulders, to his own delight and the envy of other natives that passed him on the road. But I think the climax was reached when a fine, tall

---

7 Another possible contact point with the outside world is Australind, founded in the 1830s to promote trade between the British Indies and Western Australia. However, as this enterprise collapsed after a very brief period, no lasting influence on the language situation there can be expected (for details see Wollaston 1948).

> fellow came up to our house in a perfect state of nudity, excepting for a collar round his neck and a hat upon his head, which I had given him, and saying to me - as he pointed to himself - 'My eye, fine fella'. Nothing pleases these poor blacks so much as to get European dress.
>
> There is a one good trait in their character, their fondness for their pickaninnies. It was rumoured amongst the natives that I was to take their children from them and I have seen the mothers flying up sandhills with children under each arm, to get away from me. At last they would come to me and say, 'You nothing take altogether my pickaninnies'; and I told them, 'Me nothing take altogether your pickaninnies' and now they are satisfied. (Memory 1967:75)

More extensive texts are available for later years, in particular the 1920s. At about this time. the motor vehicle was beginning to take over from the earlier horse and camel waggons as a principal means of transport between Carnarvon and outlying areas and the frequency of communication between Carnarvon and the interior increased greatly. The motor lorries also appear to have served as vehicles for the spread of Pidgin English. Some samples of the language are reported by Johnston (1962) and Ammon (1966):

> We did not know much about Charlie and where there are 'black men there might be black women'. However, Charlie appeared late in the afternoon, remarking: 'Bin walk 'em walk 'em find 'em find 'em plenty fellow long.' It was elicited that Bluey had broken a hopple and that Charlie had to track him nearly half-way back to the station. (Johnston 1962:215)
>
> Many were the times when Ross had anxiously scanned the sky and asked the old fellow, "When are you going to makem rain, Winderie? You're falling down on your job lately."
>
> Quite unruffled Winderie would puff away at his pipe as he sat on the woodheap and thoughtfully answer, "Umm, byem-bye, boss. Byem-bye. Plenty rain come byem-bye."
>
> "So you reckon it's going to rain, eh, Winderie? When?" he asked.
>
> "Oh, quick, soon now, boss. Might be two-three days." Winderie was most emphatic about it.
>
> "What makes you so sure, Winderie? You been makem rain?"
>
> Winderie dropped his eyes. "Yes, boss," he answered, "me been makem rain last night, but plenty more fella makem rain too."
>
> "Oh?"
>
> "Yeh, boss," and he almost whispered the words. "Big fella spirit talk along Mungingee Flat." He was agog with excitement and awe.
>
> (Ammon 1966:177–178)

The pastoral industry in the Pilbara area again has strong ties with the south. The first pastoralists to arrive in the Nickol Bay/Roebourne area in the late 1860s came from Fremantle and brought with them Aboriginal labourers from the south. The established pattern of communicating with local aborigines in Pidgin English was continued as a growing number of them were made to work as station hands or domestic servants. Taylor (1980), in writing about the early days of the Withell and Hancock families in the Roebourne area refers to young white children playing with black ones speaking "all-a-same blackfella man" (p.73). More extensive examples of Aboriginal Pidgin English from the Roebourne area are found in the local Court records, though most of them date from a time when additional language contacts with Chinese and Malay divers had been made. A good example is a case that took

place in 1908 (Battye collection Western Australia State Archives 24/08 Roebourne Police Court Minutes of Evidence):

> Statement by Sophie (Aboriginal female) Roebourne Police Court 1908 (24/08): I know accused. He come camp. I never see him longtime. Accused brought half bottle of whisky to camp. Accused gave me two nips of whisky-little ones. He gave me whisky in a mug - little one. Police come. The moon was up when accused come to camp.
>
> same case (statement by Tiger - Aboriginal male): I stop camp Monday night. I saw accused come along to camp late. Moon up. I heard accused ask Kenneth for a woman. After accused took Sophie away. I saw bottle with accused. Kenneth I saw and Sophie too drink whisky. They got drunk and Winnie and Sophie fight.
>
> (same case, statement by Sambo - Aboriginal male): I stop along black fellow camp in river on moon night. Sophie wake up. She gave me one nip of whisky. I didn't see white fellow in camp.

The first systematic search for pearls in Western Australia began around 1867, mainly in the Nickol Bay area, and subsequently further north. The principal port in the early years was Cossack, established in 1872 to act as a port for Roebourne. The number of boats operating in the area increased from 30 in 1870 to 80 in 1873. Up to this date, most of the divers were Aborigines, many of them women who were recruited, mostly against their will, from places further and further inland from the coast. Bligh (1938:44–45) gives an account of how recruiting was done:

> This procedure was a little round about but this made it legal. A station owner, acting as a J.P., signed another station owner's servants on for twelve months, and this was reciprocated. The aboriginal was told "if you make mille mille me, you get shirt, tobacco, plenty tucker. You say Coo (meaning yes). Suppose you say Meda (meaning no) you no more get back your country plenty noondie if he try (meaning die)." When the aboriginal sees what he wants today, he never worries about tomorrow, and a shirt, blanket and tobacco have the desired effect without the threats. Once he said "Coo" his hand was held, and a cross was made on the paper, binding him for twelve months. Once made, this "millee millee" (agreement) was hard to cancel. (Bligh 1938:44–45)

A brief passage of the language used by an Aboriginal diver is also presented orally in A.C. Angelo's reminiscences of the early pearling days given to the Western Australian Historical Society on 27 August 1948:

> I have never seen a white diver who could dive more than a couple of fathoms without going head first and propelling himself down and I often wondered how these blacks could do it.
>
> Some people have suggested it was done by the diver expelling all air from the lungs: if so, how did they inhale a fresh lot to bring them up again, while in the depths. I have asked some of the more intelligent ones how they did it. Their replies were not very illuminating – "Wantem go down, go down; wantem come up, come up," was the only and hardly lucid explanation.

Many of the Aboriginal divers never returned to their homeland; those who did brought with them a knowledge of the Pidgin English in use on the pearl luggers.[8]

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8 As recruiting occurred very far inland it must have been an important factor in the geographical spread of Pidgin English in the Western Desert. One can only speculate as to whether the situation encountered in

When the recruitment of Aboriginal labour became restricted around 1874, the lugger operators turned to employing Malays recruited from locations such as the St Straits settlements (Singapore) and Dutch Timor. By the end of 1874 about 500 Malays worked in the pearling industry. Interaction between the Malay and the Aborigines took place both on the pearling luggers and in a number of contexts on shore. One such context was the prison at Roebourne. The following statement relates to one of the many instances of intergroup violence in Roebourne and Cossack (case against Sonny Mahomet Roebourne Police Court 40/1908):

> Extract from statement by Charlie (Aboriginal male, Roebourne Police Court 1908:
>
> Me talkem English. White fellow callem me Charlie. Me in Roebourne gaol. Me remember gettem gaol a month ago-morning time after breakfast. Me have chain on leg-chained to Wallagum. I see Malay. Malay along inside-Blackfeller side-Malay he come cleanem house. Me not know what Malay said. Me facem door. When him finishem talk- that Malay he come back. I want you, me gettem you tobacco, you nice boy. He say this to Wallagum. He likem boy, he wantem fuckem. Boy lay down. Malay then takem arse-takem down trousers takem off belt pullem up shirt he get on top. Me see Malay cock. He putem arse: One time he fuckem. Boss come he finished. Boss come Malay get up. Boy layem down. Boss say what a matter now. Some feller boy- boy get up trousers pullem up wettem. Boss make em pull them down again. Boss look at backside. Me heard gate open. Me kickem boy say get up boss coming-too late.

Very similar pidgin is also produced by the next witness, or rather his interpreter Willie alias Undooe.

> My name is Wallagim. Am Prisoner in Roebourne gaol. Was here one moon ago was chained to Charlie. Accused was at the gaol at time. Was in cell. Three fellow accused and Charlie with me after breakfast. Accused said. Me wantem fuckem you. Accused him taken off belt. Malay (accused) taken off my trousers. We kneel down - hands on floor. Accused then he got on top, he tookem down trousers. He gottem fuckem. Malay gottem cock putem between legs. Did not putem in backside. Boss then come up directly. Mr. Pond come along. Two feller pullem up trousers and then Malay go away. Boss come up lookem Mr. Pond. Malay ask me first time. Malay wantem me-wantem fuckem me. Boss come along, he get up.

Roebourne and Cossack not only appear to have been the centre for the crystallisation and expansion of a new pidgin, only indirectly or weakly related to the preceding Southern Pidgin but also a centre of diffusion of this new pidgin. One should bear in mind that at Cossack there was an encounter between Aboriginal Pidgin English, Pidgin Malay and various reduced varieties of English spoken by the Japanese, Chinese and other groups. It even appears that. for a while, Bazaar or a similar kind of Malay was the most commonly used lingua franca. Thus, in discussing the construction of Jarman Island Lighthouse by prisoners from Cossack and Roebourne, Owen (1936: 36–37) remembers:

> Now I appreciated, to the full extent, the feelings of those building The Tower of Babel when God caused all engaged thereon to speak different languages (Genesis, XI, 7). I had a practical demonstration forcibly thrust on me.

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the Eastern states was repeated here, that is the practice of Aboriginals adopting Pidgin English for discussing matters pertaining to Westerners and as a means of intergroup communication even before dlrect contacts with whites.

After considerable trouble we go the derrick upright and the guy ropes duly secured. The pulley at the top required some adjustment. Stratford extemporised a "boatswain's chair." I succeeded in making the men understand to haul him to the top by the crab winch.

This job being completed, do you think I could make then lower him down? They would lower him a short way and then haul him up again repeatedly. I shrewdly suspected they did it on purpose (like the proverbial Chinese who "no savvy when he no want") with "malice aforethought," and just for the fun of the thing, though I could not detect the semblance of a smile on any one of their Sphinx-like countenances. However, with Stratford's continued expostulations, not altogether devoid of strong language -(hence its absence from this page) from the top and my equally emphatic comments from the bottom, I succeeded eventually in landing him safely.

Once safely on the ground, I said to Stratford, "That will do for to-day. I can see if we don't address them in their own language, or at least some of it, we shall not get much work out of them."

Knowing George Roe was in Cossack, and that he was an expert Malay scholar, I decided to go ashore and learn from him at least some of the necessary expressions to enable me to carry on the work, and the following is what he taught me. "Mind you, Owen," he said, "this is not the way it is spelt but pronounced, so that it is really phonetic Malay":[9]

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9 Dr Voorhoeve of the Australian National University sent me the following comments on this variety of Malay: "Was George Roe an expert Malay scholar? In the land of the blind One-eye is king...Anyway, most of his 'phonetic' rendering of the Malay words I could decipher:

			Standard Malay
go forward	piggie de mukah	pigi di muka	pergi ke muka
go aft	piggie de blackah	pigi de blaka	pergi ke belakang
slack away	arrier	???	???
make fast	ecat	ikat	ikat
slack a little	arrier sedekie	sediki	sedikit
luff	balo	belo(?)	(mem) belik (?)
keep her away	touroet	turut (?)	turut
down jib	arrier jib	...jib	...jib
take the rudder	pagung commudie	pegang kemudi	pegang kemudi
go ashore in the boat	bower schoochie dedarat	bawa skuci di darat	bawah 'skuci ke darat
a glass of water	satoe glass lre menoem	satu glas air minum	satu gelas air minum
go down	piggie debower	pigi di bawa	pergi ke bawah
go aloft	piggie deattas	pigi de atas	pergi ke atas
come here	merrie desinie	mari disini	mari kesini
knock off work	bruenthie credger	brenti kreja	berhenti kerja
commence work	moly credger	mulai kreja	mulai kerja
one	satoe	satu	satu
two	dowar	dua	dua
three	tegar	tiga	tiga
four	ampat	ampat	empat
five	limah	lima	idem
six	annum	anam	enam
seven	tougon	tuju	tujuh
eight	delapan	delapan	idem
nine	sambelan	sambilan	sembilan
ten	sapolo	sapulu	sepuluh

English	Malay
go forward	*piggie de mukah*
go aft	*piggie de blackah*
slack away	*arrier*
make fast	*ecat*
slack a little	*arrier sedekie*
luff	*balo*
down jib	*arrier jib*
take the rubber	*pagung commudie*
go ashore in the boat	*bower schoochie dedarat*
a glass of water	*satoe glass ire menoem*
go down	*piggie debower*
go aloft	*piggie deattas*
come here	*merrie desinie*
knock off work	*bruenthie credger*
commence work	*moly credger*

Numerals

one	*satoe*
two	*dowar*
three	*teger*
four	*ampat*
five	*limah*
six	*annum*
seven	*tougon*
eight	*delapan*
nine	*sambelan*
ten	*sapolo*

When we were returning to the island my coxswain handed the tiller over to one of the prisoner crew - Pedro I think - who made a mess of things, and we were capsized. I managed to save my bag with the papers in. The one with the above translation got wet. It still shows sea water stains, but I am able to decipher it. I value it very much, not only for the use it was to me, but as a reminder of one of the many kindly acts of a dear old friend, alas, no more. He died in Melbourne a few years ago.

It definitely is a non-standard variety of Malay in which I recognise the following features which occur in eastern Indonesia (they may also occur in western Indonesian varieties, but I am not acquainted with those):

- the use of *di* where Standard Malay (SM) has *di* (at, in) and *ke* (to);
- the loss of word-final consonants

The use of *pigi* for *pergi* is common in non-standard varieties of Malay all over Indonesia.

I can't make sense of *arrier*. No Malay word with a meaning like "slacken, loosen, to lower", etc. comes even near to it in form. I suspect that either it is a special jargon term. or when transcribing his water-stained text he must have made some mistakes, as also in his transcription of *tujuh* 'seven'. The transcription, by the way, is not purely 'Malay spelled in the English way'. It clearly contains some Dutch spelling conventions: final *ie* for [i], *oe* for [u]. Also the word *schoochie* seems to be Dutch: schuitje. *Balo/belo/belok*: the Indonesian word means nto turn, make a turn" - in this particular context: to turn into the wind (Du. oploeven); touroet/turut: in Indonesian 'to follow'; probably used in the context of two boats sailing a parallel course, and one makes a turn towards the other whereupon the other has to follow suit in order to avoid a collision. *Bawa skuci kedarat* literally: take the small boat ashore." (Dr Voorhoeve, pers.comm., August 1987)

A similar type of Malay was also widely used in the pearling industry around Broome.

> Soon after landing, I took every opportunity to air my knowledge of the Malay language. It had the desired effect. It impressed my hearers. Result, the work proceeded more rapidly and smoothly. (Owen 1936)

Some of this kind of Malay continued to be used once the pearling fleet had moved north to Broome. The same writer reports several examples of Pidgin English for the same period spoken by members of other races, for instance by the Arab Assam (p.43): "Sulieman stab'em me, master."

Next to the Chinese and Malay there was also an increasing number of Japanese in the Cossack pearl industry; I have not, however, come across examples of their speech nor have I been able to establish conclusively that divers from the Torres Straits area were involved here, as they were subsequently at Broome.

Whilst many such matters remain to be settled and whilst it is hoped that more linguistic data can be obtained, there can be little doubt that the pearling industry around Cossack and Roebourne in the 1880s provided one of the best centres for the crystallisation of a Pidgin English in the north of Western Australia: first, we have the condition of a multitude of linguistic backgrounds among the participants, secondly, in almost all instances they were displaced from their home country, thirdly, they were thrown together, for periods lasting around six weeks at a time in the confined setting of a pearling lugger depending on successful communication for their physical survival. Lastly, the social distance between the whites and members of other races was such that acrolectal varieties of English were inaccessible to the latter in most instances, some of the more affluent Chinese being a possible exception.

The type of pidgin that developed around Cossack appears to have combined certain features of the older South Western tradition with a number of new developments. One cannot assume, given the numerous changes in the composition of the speech community over the years and the tenuous communication links with the south, that there was a direct strong continuous tradition. However, it is important to emphasise that this pearling pidgin too was a local West Australian development, relatively uninfluenced by developments in the Eastern states.

By the late 1890s the pearling industry around Cossack was almost defunct, as the fleet had shifted its headquarters further north to Broome, taking with them, without doubt, many of the linguistic conventions that had so far developed.

Roebourne and Cossack continued to play an important part as trade centres for the agricultural industry and supply bases for the gold and mineral industries, though other ports such as Port Hedland, later took over this function. Around 1890 the Pilbara field to the east of Roebourne had become a centre of gold seeking activity, whilst further north in the Kimberley another goldfield had been declared. Of the new towns that were set up, Marble Bar (founded in 1893) deserves special mention. Because of the competitive and secretive nature of golddigging, contacts between members of different races appear to have been fewer than in the pearling industry. Exceptions would have been contacts with Afghan camel drivers who, until the construction of the Port Hedland-Marble Bar railway in 1911, played an important part in the local transport industry and business relations between white and Chinese shopkeepers and between golddiggers from all races. Idriess (1954:165ff.) gives a number of texts dating back to the turn of the century, among them the story of an Aboriginal woman, Mary Ann, who had scraped together a bag of alluvial tin worth about £7 at the time. (p.165ff.):

Justly proud of her achievement, she gave the heavy bag to Jacky her lord and master to carry to the storekeeper, there to buy tucker and a particular dress she had long coveted. Jacky started out full of good intentions, with the bag of tin balanced across his head and one ear cocked over his shoulder to the shouted instructions of Mary Ann to, "Hurry back longa camp now, Jacky! You no more stay longa store! Hurry back home. Bring dress, bacca, tucker, change belonga me." "Arri," shouted Jacky. Alas, the noble abo fell by the wayside, a failing not confined to coloured husbands. He sold the tin all right, then went for a stroll right into a big ring of miners engaged in that engrossing pastime, two-up. "Heads you win! Tails you lose!" The sophisticated aboriginal anywhere in Australia, if once taught, is nothing if not a gambler, and will play cards the day and night through. Quite a number of them can teach the whites a point or two at poker - and other games. Jacky looked on at the play a while, his eyes shining as he watched the tossing pennies. Eagerly he gazed forward with the players to see how the coins fell. He forgot all about Mary Ann patiently cooking his evening meal, forgot about her new dress, her tobacco, her tucker, the change that belonged to her. He took his place in the ring. It was all fair and square. He knew every player, they knew him and he knew as much about the game as they did. For a time he played with flattering luck, grew excited, plunged and lost all. It was a gloomy blackfellow who wended his way home.

Afar off, Mary Ann's expectant attitude changed to an apprehensive stare; she hurried to meet him with fire in her eye. "Where that money belonga me?" she demanded. "I been gamble longa white feller," Jacky mumbled. "They been lickem me." "You mad!" she shrilled. "What for you want to play longa white feller? You can't play longa white feller! You too dam' silly! White feller got too much head longa you!"

Jacky muttered something to the effect that he was not so sure about that! He had just as much in his head as any white feller. "Yah!" she jeered. "You one poor fool! In shrieking crescendo she assured him that all in his head was what fed upon it. "You run back quick feller," she howled, "bringem back that money belonga me!" "No can do that," he protested. "Me losem that money longa gamble fair play." "Arright!" she shrieked. "Me go. Me go lookem out them white feller! You no bringem me that money! No good me get nothing! No good me yandy tin, yandy tin, yandy tin all day for mad fool you. Yandy tin for white feller! Huh! Me showem. Huh! Me takem dowick!"

She did. A dowick is-a heavy fighting club. And brandishing it, she came raging up from the creek into the ring of players. "What for you white feller gamble belonga my man stealem my money?" she demanded. "No good black feller play belonga you feller. He can't play. He alla same dam' fool!" "He play all right, Mary Ann!" the ring-keeper retorted. "We play fair belonga him, him been losem proper." "You lyin' white feller! You no playem fair belonga him!" And Mary Ann swung her dowick with skinny body crouched for the spring. "True Mary Ann!" protested the ring-keeper hurriedly. "We playem fair. You askem these other feller white feller." "These white feller all a same you lying white feller!" And with a flying leap she swung the club so dangerously that the big school fell back, leaving her in sole possession of the ring with the kip and the coins at her feet. Shrilly then she defied them to shift her.

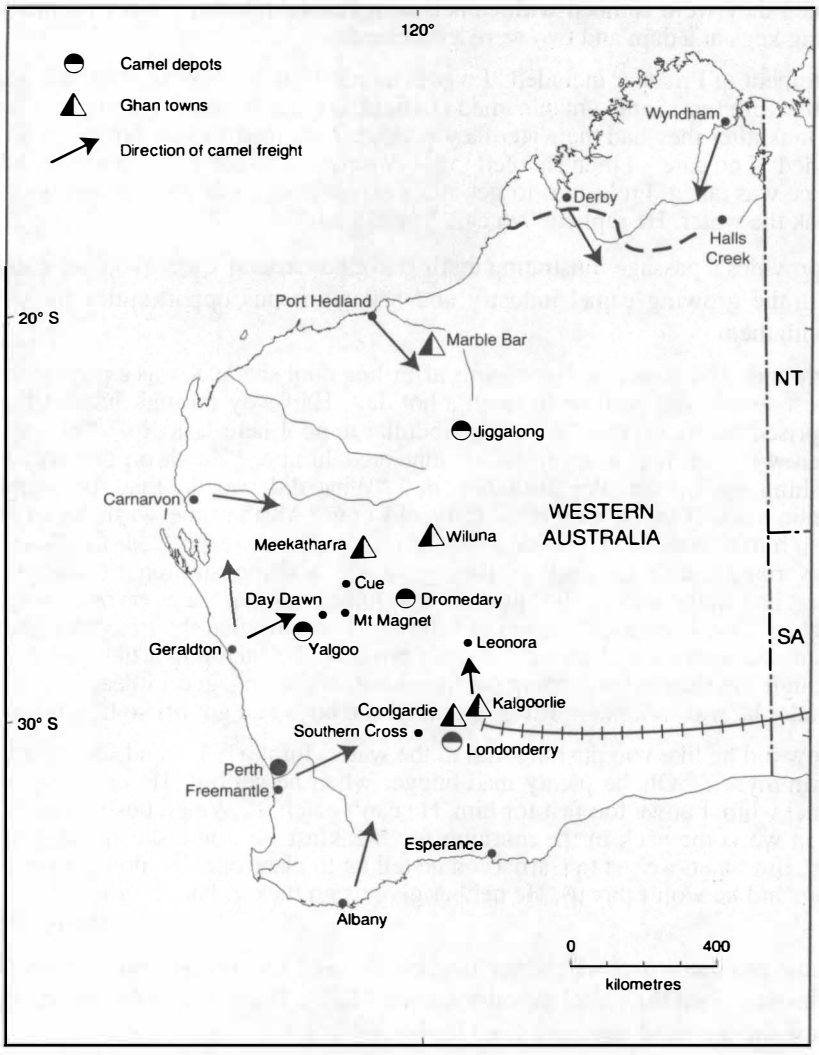
To their explanations and protestations she simply swung the club and howled her defiance "Aw! Give the old cow back the money," growled a player. "We'll never get on with the game." "Yes," voted another, "give her back the money and a kick in the pants." "She don't wear any," chuckled a player. "Well, chuck her the money so she can buy some."

> Unanimously the crowd agreed. She lowered the club though grasping it warily as the ringkeeper advanced. He handed her a little wad of notes. Happily she squatted in the ring, one by one counted six notes into her lap, then a 10-shilling note, then five shillings in silver. She glared up accusingly. "White feller," she demanded, "'nother one five shillun! That one only six pound fifteen proper money." "No, Mary Ann, that right," protested the ring-keeper. "No, not right," she argued. "You wantem cheatem poor silly black gin. More better you payem straight!" "That one straight money, Mary Ann," insisted the ring-keeper. "Jacky bring that much feller money. No more."
>
> Mary Ann knew this could well be true. Jacky must have spent the other five shillings on himself. But she refused to admit to a penny. In a tirade she shrilled about her bag of tin worth £7 per bag and she demanded every penny of it.
>
> With a laugh the crowd gave her the other five shillings and another two shillings to buy a drink with. And happily Mary Ann wended her way home.
>
> (Idriess 1954:165ff.)

I shall have to leave my brief survey of Pidgin English in the Pilbara at this point, though I do not wish to give the impression that it is complete. Smaller text samples were found for other areas and periods and during a brief field trip to the area, I gained the impression that much of the past of language contacts in this area could still be reconstructed by going to older people living on the cattle stations or on outback settlements. A very large body of police records is available, though regrettably access to most of this material is restricted.

5. THE AFGHANS AS AGENTS OF DIFFUSION

Before the advent of the railways and the motorcar (particularly the latter) the development of the outback areas of Australia depended to a significant extent on camels and their Afghan (Ghan) handlers. The first shipment of camels arrived in 1858 in Victoria, followed by South Australia in 1866 and Western Australia from the 1890s. A fuller account is found in Downs (1987) and McKnight (1969). The term 'Ghan' refers to a mixed group of Moslem camel handlers originating from Afghanistan and various areas of present-day Pakistan. Being a linguistically heterogeneous group and finding themselves in an environment dominated by English, their principal means of communication was English (of which some of them had acquired considerable fluency) and reduced or pidginised forms of English needed both in their dealings with Aborigines and frequently with other groups as well. In the case of some Ghans, their linguistic skills had been acquired in the Eastern states, particularly in connection with work on the Trans-Australian Railway. After 1890 they increasingly came to Western Australia directly from their homeland. The following map, adapted from Downs (1987) illustrates the most important centres and direction of movement of the cameleers:



MAP 2: CAMEL ROUTES AND GHAN SETTLEMENTS IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA

The earliest samples of Pidgin English as spoken by Ghans were located by Downs (1987-) in the West Australian Newspaper. In both instances, the location is in the 'civilised' south of the state:

> Nov, 25, 1887 p.3b
> Two 'Afghan' camel drivers encountered near the Bunbury Road in search of three or four camels which had strayed from the neighbourhood of Fremantle. Their stock of English was almost as small as their supply of food and consisted solely in the reiterated inquiry: "SEE-CAM-EL? SEE CAM-EL?"

> Albany: Dec 7th 1984
> This morning at the police court Thos. Brandon Knowles was charged with unlawfully wounding Noore Mahomet and with killing John Mahomet near Point Malcolm on the 13th October. A copy of the Koran sent from Perth was used to administer the oath to the interpreter and the Afghan witnesses. The evidence of F. Shan, Amas Saalam and NooreMahomet was to the effect that on the day

named they were camped with camels near Point Malcolm. Two men had been filling kegs at a dam and two were left behind.

Statement of Prisoner included "I was at a tank 13 miles NW of Ponton's Station on the 13th inst. I and a man named Hatfield saw an Afghan washing his feet in the tank after they had the water they wanted. I shouted to him not to do so. He replied "I no care". I then shouted to his companion to come and stop him but no notice was taken. I told him to get at a distance and wash his feet as white men drank the water. He replied "No care Englishman".

Ammon provides a passage illustrating that Aborigines around Carnarvon were employed by Afghans in the growing camel industry and had numerous opportunities for using Pidgin English with them:

> Surrounded by towering river-gums affording cool shade, it was a pleasant place to rest awhile and boil the billy on a hot day. Half-way through lunch Charcoal surprised me by saying, "We push Abdullar in pool here last trip." "You what?" "Yeh, we push him in all right," volunteered Jumbo. "He sit on that rock there washing his turban. We push him in." "What did you do that for, Jumbo?" Jumbo said, "Oh, he altogether dirty old cow. All the time wash him turban, wash him turban, but he never have bath himself, so we push him in." And the boys roared with laughter as they gave me a demonstration of the Afghan struggling in the water. The situation was full of humour for everyone except the Afghan. For, knowing Afghans as I did and knowing that the time was likely to be around sundown, I thought it quite possible the man might have been going through the ritual of wrapping on his turban while engaged in deep prayer. No wonder he was indignant. It was a marvel the boys had got off so lightly.
>
> "How did he like you pushing him in the water, Jumbo?" I asked, doing a bit of a grin myself. "Oh, he plenty mad bugger when he get out. He chase us with a camel whip, but we too fast for him. He can't catch us. We go bush all night and when we come back in the morning for breakfast he don't say nothing so we stay. But when we get to Carnarvon he tell us to clear out. He don't want us no more and he won't pay us. He nebber give us no tucker, bacca, or nothing."
>
> (Ammon 1966:8)

The most prolific source of Pidgin English as used by the Afghan cameleers is Barker (1964) who described the camel industry around Marble Bar in the early part of this century. Here follow the principal passages from his book:

> "I say goodbye, my camel".
> "Fifty years I stop this country, work all the time, now I finish". (Barker 1964:2)
>
> Zareen, an Afghan wit, used to say: "Mr. Snell a very good man from boots right up to chin. From chin up, no good." (Barker 1964:28)
>
> He was a stranger to me but the Italians knew him. He tied his camel to a tree and came over to the Italians looking exactly what, to my idea, a bearded prophet should look like. He told the Italians they were "very wicked men". Through their behaviour it had taken him days to find his camel. Like the blacks, who can't say "Italian", he called them "Stalian men", and this the Italians took as a joke and a compliment.
>
> At first I could not understand what the row was over, but it soon became clear. All three talked at once, shouted and showed their teeth, "good the gidg", and "no good the gidg", "more better" something else, "no good the understand".
>
> "True for God," said the Ghan, "my camel very, very hungry, he die." "Camel too fat," yelled an Italian. "I stop tirtee year this country, I know." "You stop fifty year you no good the understand," replied an Italian.

> The argument raged on, but no knives were brought out. The old Afghan gradually became calmer till his expression changed from viciousness to smiles, and finally he shook hands with one Italian saying, "You my very best friend." They handed him a pannikin of tea, tea with a double allowance of sugar that Afghans like. (Barker 1964:30)

> ...he had been in gaol the night before and the police had told him he would be in again if he was caught within a mile of the town. I asked him what he had done to deserve punishment. He said "I get drunk, I run the muck, I call every white man...no more I remember. I wake up gaol." (Barker 1964:97)

> Moosa Khan, a fine old man, ran his young camels on Mr. Brockman's land, and once told me: "Mr. Brockman a very good man, all the same as Mr. Jesus." The Ghans did not rate me as highly as Mr. Brockman because I refused to have young camels amongst sheep. (Barker 1964:94)

As the use of motorcars became more general in the 1920s the importance of the camel industry and the Ghans declined. Some of them returned to their homeland whilst others settled in Ghan Towns such as Meekatharra, Marble Bar or even in Perth. A notable feature of the Ghan community in Western Australia was that they were exclusively male and thus had to find female partners among the Aboriginal, European and mixed race communities. This constituted yet another important reason for the disappearance of the Pidgin English used by the Ghans.

6. THE CHINESE

The linguistic importance of the Chinese, like that of the Ghans lay in the fact that they were: a. mobile and b. in frequent verbal interaction with members of all races. One can distinguish three categories of Chinese migrants: indentured labourers in the South and Southwest following the termination of convict labour around 1860, Chinese in the pearling and gold areas of the North mainly after 1880 and free Chinese immigration after 1909. I have no comprehensive statistics, although, those that I have examined (as well as those examined by So 1987) suggest that Chinese immigration was predominantly male (there were 912 males and only 5 females in the colony in 1891 for instance), that the migrants belonged to a wide range of professions with cooks, market gardeners, servants and water-drawers being the principal categories, and that they tended to be scattered rather than settled in larger groups in these communities. As regards their origins, early migration, particularly to the pearling and gold industries, tended to come from Singapore and later migration from the areas around Canton.

Whilst many of the Chinese spoke some reduced form of English or Malay on their arrival the demographic factors warded against their variety becoming influential. Thus, whatever features of Chinese Pidgin English can be pointed out in some of the earlier texts did not make a great impact on other varieties of Pidgin English in Western Australia. However, the role of the Chinese in disseminating the Aboriginal and multilingual contact Englishes of the colony appears to have been significant.

Samples of pidginised varieties of English used by Chinese are reported from many areas. As popular white sentiment against Chinese immigration was very much in evidence for most of the time, the use stereotyped literary forms of their English was widespread in satirical publications such as the journal *Possum* or the *Bulletin.* The following poem was published in the *Possum* of December 10th 1887 as a reaction against increased Chinese immigration:

Governor he sent along,
All the way to Hong Kong,
Bidding John Chinaman
Come across the sea.
Bade him tie his pig tail
Ready for a ship to sail.
Take him awful distance,
From the land of tea.

You like moo cow,
Johnny likes bow wow,
Give him little puppy dog,
Rice, and plenty tea.
Three years quickly go,
Then another boat he'll row,
Sailing on as happy
As he well can be.

Not like your blooming black,
Never need flog his back;
Mind sheep velly well,
Cook the shepherds' tea.
Never sent from Kimberley,
To Inspector Timperley
Salty mines at Rottnest
Never yet did see.

John buys a hand cart
He sells and you part,
You like lettuces
And cresses for your tea.
Pumpkin-headed gumsucker
Very fond of good tucker,
Buy it off of Johnny
From the land of tea.

John soon buys a horse,
Puts him in the cart of course,
See *Wo* and Company
Make the donkey *Gee*.
Very soon they get a shop,
In and out yon often pop,
Sell you dried tea leaves
For very good tea.

Larriking in Murray Street
Policeman never on his beat,
Have a smack at Chinaman
Happy as can be.
Take him by his pig tail,
Tie him to a fence rail,
Shorten up his tether
Very soon you'll see.

Johnny takes a whitey wife,
Very fond of married life,
Plenty more populace
Wanted here you see.
Soon the little almond eyes,

Many folks will surprise,
Nothing half so lovely
As the young Chinee.

Good bye whitey man,
You were the first began,
Bringing John Chinaman,
Far across the sea.
Better had you let him bide,
Where he should have lived and
Far away in China
In the land of tea.

The following examples of Chinese Pidgin English were all found in the *Western Australian Bulletin* by So (1987):

> A Chinaman is speaking to himself as he irons a shirt. Picks up a shirt showing evidence of having been well cared for and says: "Bachelor; him lady fix him." Picks up another, buttonless and frayed at the wrist and neck: "Mallied man".
> 22 December 1888

> "VULGAR PREJUDICE by an Eye Witness."
> Mrs. Gump: "Well, Johnny, goin'to give up yer garden, eh." Johnny: "No, missie, me gottee new leasee --- ." Mrs. Gump: "Good Eavens, he means he's got a new disease."
> 25 August 1888

Anecdotal material featuring Chinese is also available for many other areas. Thus, Taylor (1980:176) reports the following amusing story of the Chinese cook, Suey, who worked in Cossack in the 1890s:

> "Finding her absent one day when he called he said when next greeting her. "Mrs. Tuslo, I went to see you. I went in your front side - I walked around your inside and I came out your back side. I no see."

Hardie (1981:57) reports another anecdote for about the same period:

> One of the best stories about Chinese cooks, told by Rob Lukis, concerns the jackaroos who plagued old Ah Boon with practical jokes. When they'd nailed his wooden sandals to the floor beside his bed and he'd fallen flat on his face as a result, Ah Boon complained to the boss, who directed the jackaroos to elect a spokesman from among them to apologise. This was duly done.
> 'You no more put flour in my pillow?', asked Ah Boon. 'You no more put chopped horsehair and - snakes in my bed?'
> 'You no more nail my shoes to the floor?' he asked in conciliatory tones.
> 'No!' they answered.
> 'Al li. Al li,' he replied, deadpan. 'I no longer pee in your soup.'

A much more reliable indication of their language can be found in the court proceedings which feature samples of language taken down at the time it was uttered. Whilst a certain amount of editing must have occurred with the various court scribes, the status of such data is not one of literary fabrication. The following examples were located in the Roebourne Police records.

> Statement by ang Ong - Roebourne Police Court Minutes of Evidence (7/1891)
> Before Ah Lee owe me money, Before he come court and get verdict. Ah Lee has not paid any money. Before Ah Lee had a house it belonged to him. About

three weeks after he sold the house for £17-0-0. He get em money. He no pay any money at all. He kept the money.

Statement by Ko See San - Roebourne Police Court 1892: (21/92)
Ah Loow he go my house one month. I lend him some money. He owe me £23-0-0. I plenty ask him money he no give it. He plenty time say he give it but he no give it.

Statement by San Sed, Roebourne Police Court Minutes of Evidence 115/1892
I own Sun Sed garden. I remember Ah Looan going to stop San Sed garden. He stop nearly one month. I stop there too. I have work to do with garden. I am Lee boss. Ah Looan got no garden. I am best sell plenty vegetables - Ah Looan sell little bit. Ah Looan give San Sed money when he sell vegetables...I ask him for 10/- he say no and run away. When I see him again he say he no like the garden.

Statement by Charlie Ah Sing Roebourne Police Court Minutes 24/1908
I never buy Whisky for Billy. When I buy I drink it myself. I bought that whisky but I drank it myself. Police boys come ask me to buy whisky, I never do. I never give nigger a drink.

The following case (Roebourne Police Court 29/ 1909) involved the Chinese Ah Chow and the Aborigine Muranumwiri, as well as other Aboriginal witnesses.
Ah Chow; I go to I. to see my friend. I go by S. road. I had a some whisky in pocket for my friend in I. I go road close to S. Sandy catch me first time. He say "What you do". He called Albert and Sandy and Albert held me by hands. Albert took whisky out of my pocket. They hold my hands out and take me to police station. They woke up P.C. O'Brien and latter told P.C. Dowd. The latter told two natives to bring me inside. On Monday I stop See Ling house. I did not go to natives camp on Monday night. I know Nellie. I no go to camp. She come to me. I slept with Nellie close to my sulky near See Ling's yard. I ask Nellie to come and she come. I didn't give her whisky. Charlie tell lie when he says I went to camp and took Nellie. No moon Tuesday night. Track from S. across creek. I go sometimes across that way two or three times a day. Sometimes I go other road not this time.

Sandy: I saw Ah Chow at camp last month. I see Albert at camp too. Albert and I go to camp together. I saw Ah Chow at native camp sitting down. No one said 'I think Chinaman there'. I go up to Chow Albert told me to go up and look I find Chow and ask him what he was doing and he said looking after Calico. Albert come up. I got Chow by wrist. Albert took bottle of whisky from Chow. We take Chow to police station. I hold of one arm Albert other. Ah Chow was looking for Nellie. We get Chow he was on track leading down to native camp. We take Chow because we take part of black fellow. Chow want the woman. The night before Chow take this woman and we wait for him the next night.

Sporadic examples of Pidgin English as spoken by Chinese are also found in the *Nor'west Times*, an example being the following ones of Saturday September 17th 1892: "Good'ay marser, good'ay. You likey ladish marser? Oh, no, no. No marser me no want money, me no charge you."

The kind of language found in most of the texts surveyed can be described negatively as lacking a number of important features of Chinese Pidgin English as well as those of South Western NyungarPidgin English. Similarly, one is struck by the absence of social norms in the varieties of reduced English spoken by Chinese in Western Australia. This would seem to reflect the fact that one is dealing with a collection of individual interlanguages rather than a distinct separate variety of Pidgin English. Such a explanation would also account for the frequent use of acrolectal inflections and other types of hyper-correction.

7. LEXICAL AND STRUCTURAL PROPERTIES OF PIDGIN ENGLISH IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA

One of the questions asked at the beginning of this paper has been whether one can speak of a separate tradition of Western Australian Pidgin English. I have so far outlined the socio-historical context in which such a variety could have developed and provided a number of arguments as to why the question should be answered in the affirmative.

A documentation based on an exhaustive computer analysis of Australian Pidgin English data can be found in the texts (particularly Mühlhäusler and McGregor 1996) and maps of Wurm, Mühlhäusler and Tryon 1996.

Turning first to the lexicon, we can observe that a fair number of un-English forms appear in the very early texts, particularly those in the southwest. Some of these forms are of Nyungar origin (e.g. *wonga* 'to say, talk, speak', *kai* 'yes', *mannam* 'father', *mindik* 'sick'), others are restructured words of English origin such as *queeple* (from creep up (on sheep)) 'to steal' or *tittel* 'little'.

For yet others such as *boomat* ('to go bush' and *quillyarn* 'to lie' an etymology has as yet not been established. A number of observers remark on non-standard pronunciations of English forms such as *chalt* for 'salt', *poot* for 'shoot' and *bikket* for 'biscuit'. As the Nyungar declined in numbers and importance as interlocutors, their particular brand of Pidgin English also declined. None of the forms listed here is recorded outside the Nyungar speaking area or for the period after 1900 .

From the earliest period we note the presence of a number of lexical items of Eastern origin, including *sulky* 'angry', *mel* 'eye or to see', *coo-ee* 'to shout', and *walkabout* 'to wander, walk'. The proportion of such forms appears to increase in later texts and in the northern parts of Western Australia.

As regards the morphosyntax of the texts considered in this paper, the general trend is again one from less to more agreement with varieties of Pidgin English spoken elsewhere in Australia. Thus, two salient properties of the early texts, a trend towards verb final sentences (as in Nyungar) and the use of *nothing* as a negator, disappear in later samples.

A longitudinal study of the texts clearly demonstrates the development from an extremely impoverished contact jargon to a stable pidgin over a relatively short period.

Those familiar with the pidgins and creoles in the Pacific area will have noted the presence, in the varieties of Western Australia, of a number of diagnostic features such as *-fella* affix after adjectives, the verbal marker *'-um*, or *'-em*, the use of *mine* and *me* as first person singular pronoun, the future marker *baimbai* and the emphasiser *too much*. First indications are that their use in Western Australia does not predate their use in other parts of Australia or the Pacific, fuller details are given in Wurm, Mühlhäusler and Tryon (1996). However, it can be concluded tentatively that we are not dealing with a totally separate development but a mixture of diffused pidgin lexicon and grammar and local innovations.

8. OUTLOOK

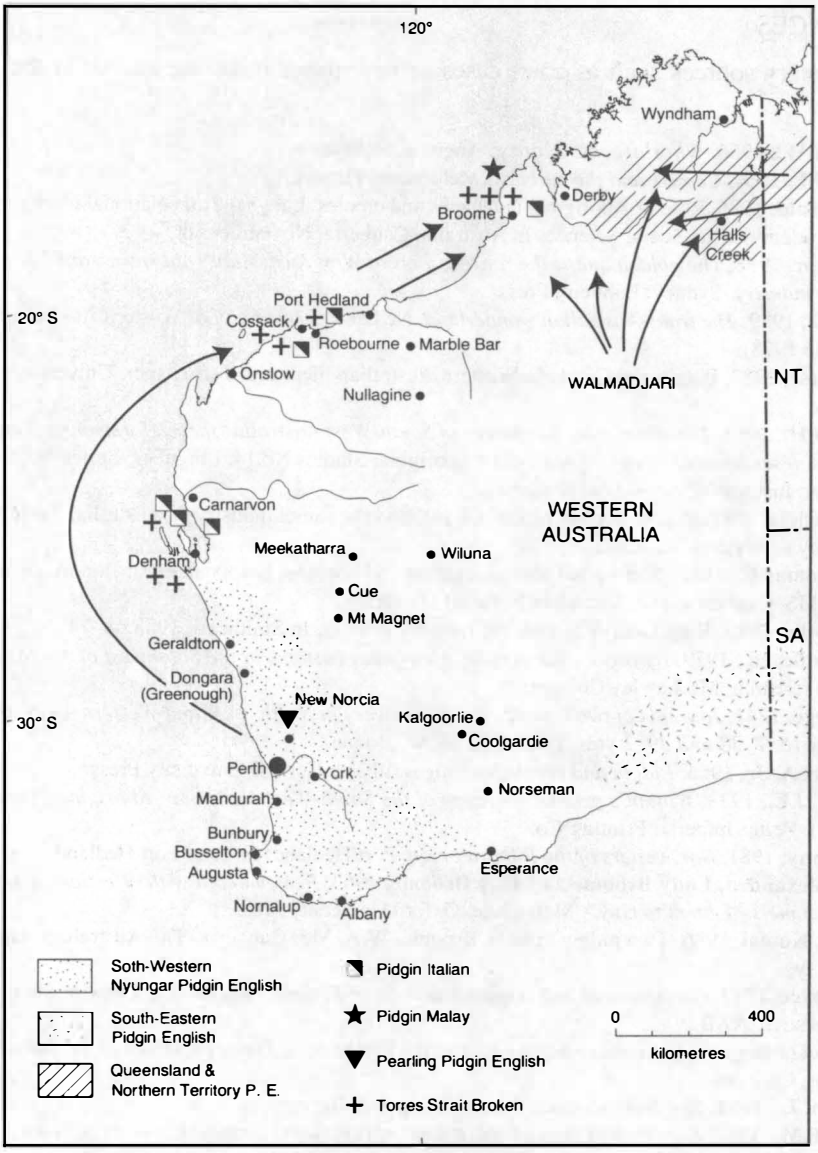
To me one of the most interesting trends in pidgin and creole studies in recent years has been the discovery of a very large number of new varieties in addition to the well-known ones around which the field has centred in the past. For many of them, documentation is

rather sparse but for others, like the variety discussed in this paper, archival and field research is capable of uncovering a surprisingly substantial body of evidence. The data I have seen in connection with my work on the languages for intercultural communication in the Pacific area suggest that the following topics should be followed up by pidginists and creolists in more detail:

i. The process of language diffusion. We urgently need to refine the notion of diffusion from an ad hoc category or dustbin device to an explanatory one. This process has now become possible with the help of computer analysis of large bodies of data.

ii. The role of targeted learning in pidgin development. The data from Western Australia and other pidgins that I have investigated suggest that their development, in most instances, is a combination of 'natural' complexity adding grammaticalisation paired with a complexity-preserving restructuring in the direction of the superstrate language. Pidgins may start off as compromise systems or 50-50 mixtures but they rarely remain that way for any length of time.

As regards the more specific findings for Western Australia, I hope to have demonstrated that the local demographic and linguistic situation gave rise to a specifically Western Australian tradition of Pidgin English. As the colony expanded and became more closely associated with the remainder of the Australian economy and culture, the linguistic independence of this variety disappeared. It remains to be seen what traces are left in the areas north of the Pilbara. The following map presents the most important developments. More detailed maps can be found in Wurm, Mühlhäusler and Tryon (1996).



MAP 3: WESTERN AUSTRALIAN LINGUE FRANCHE PIDGINS AND CREOLES

The information presented in this paper is by no meang an exhaustive account of contact languages in Western Australia. Rather, it is part of a larger picture which embraces Aboriginal modes of intercommunication prior to the arrival of the Europeans, contacts between Aborigines and visitors from Southeast Asia, the many linguistic encounters following resettlement, dispersal and internal colonisation of Aborigines during the last two hundred years and the migrant languages of groups other than English. I hope that research on these matters will be commenced in the not too distant future as the opportunities for studying the complex language contact situation in Western Australia are rapidly declining with the increasing domination of English and universal schooling in this language.

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A-91:1-33. Pacific Linguistics, The Australian National University, 1998. DOI:*10.15144/PL-A91.1*

'GIVE ME BACK MY NAME': THE 'CLASSIFICATION' OF ABORIGINAL PEOPLE IN COLONIAL SOUTH AUSTRALIA

ROBERT FOSTER, PETER MÜHLHÄUSLER AND PHILIP CLARKE

There's a word for it
And words don't mean a thing
There's a name for it
And names make all the difference in the world.
David Byrne 1985

1. INTRODUCTION[1]

In recent years, the indigenous people of Australia have begun critically to reflect on the categorisations and names imposed on them by Europeans. An example of this activity is the following statement by the Koorie linguist, Eve Fesl (1993:xiv), in the introduction to her book on the social history of indigenous languages of Australia:

> An examination of the history of British colonialism and slavery throughout the world reveals that one of the first acts in the process of oppression has been the de-identification of the intended victims and a replacement of their names with labels such as "indian", "aborigine", "native", "black" or "nigger". Less concern is likely to be expressed for the oppressed or murdered if they are unknown. There is also a sense of ownership when a name is used by someone. The general noun "aborigine" has been used to replace our names which the colonisers never had the courtesy to use. I am, in this book, therefore and have in my personal life refused to answer to "aborigine" as a proper noun. At the national level I see myself as a Koorie (which means "our people"), and I shall use Koorie in this national sense throughout this book to replace the label. When speaking of a specific group of Koorie people I shall use their name. (When speaking of the general area from which I come, I refer to myself as a Murrie; when I am with my father's people I am a Gangulu; and I am a Gubbi Gubbi when with my other's kin.) It is interesting that many Anglo-Australians verbally attack me for having the audacity to dispense with their label - almost without exception they have tried to rationalise their objection by saying that "aboriginal" people won't be able to understand or will be confused or won't like it.

The labels which Fesl rejects were largely the product of 19th century practices. She and many indigenous Australians prefer terms of their own choosing. Since settlement by Europeans, a pan-Aboriginality has developed that could never have existed before. It is in the eastern states of Australia where the broadening of Aboriginal identity is perhaps the most advanced. This is apparent in the social construction of a pan-Aboriginal identity based on

[1] The authors would like to acknowledge the generous help from the ARC (small grant in 1994) and the University of Adelaide (small grant 1993) that have made this research possible.

Peter Mühlhäusler, ed. *Papers in pidgin and creole linguistics* No.5, 35–59.
Pacific Linguistics, A–91, 1998.

usage of the term 'Koori' (or 'Koorie') to mean all people of Aboriginal descent, in opposition to 'Gubba', a name used in some parts of Australia for all non-Aboriginal people with predominantly European ancestry.

Miller (1985), a Victorian Aboriginal writer, argues for the Australia-wide adoption of 'Koori'. Although he acknowledges that its usage is not compatible with the former existence of a large number of Australian languages, he claims that it is needed to replace what he considers to be the 'derogatory connotations' of the term 'Aboriginal'. He also suggests that the use of 'Koori' would honour the Eora people of Sydney, whose language was the source of this word, for they were the first Aboriginal people to feel the full impact of European settlement (Miller 1985:vii). Elsewhere, this pan-Aboriginal term is showing few signs of being adopted, possibly because the term was for a long time, and to some extent still is, associated with a state regional identity. For instance, in South Australia, 'Koori' is simply recognised as meaning a Victorian or southern New South Wales Aboriginal person. Here, 'Koori' is treated in opposition to terms such as 'Nunga' for southern South Australia, 'Nyungar' for southern Western Australia, and 'Murri' for Queensland and northern New South Wales. The pan-Aboriginal context exists for all Aboriginal people, by the fact of their opposition against white people. Nevertheless, in areas located outside the eastern states and which have strong regional Aboriginal identities, adoption of 'Koori' to mean all Aboriginal people has, so far, been unsuccessful.

In this paper we shall examine the names and epithets that Europeans applied to the Aboriginal people of South Australia, particularly during the nineteenth century. The work began with a survey of colonial newspapers and expanded to include literature and government publications. It is concerned more with 'popular' perceptions of Aborigines than with 'scientific' accounts. The value of such a survey lies in what it reveals about the changing European constructions of Aboriginal people evident in the 'labels' applied to them.

2. THE INDIGENOUS INHABITANTS OF AUSTRALIA

A survey of colonial literature indicates that the collective nouns most often used to describe the Aboriginal inhabitants of Australia were *Aborigine, native*, and *black*. Of these, *Aborigine* and *native* were the most common and most formal, that is to say, the most emotionally neutral, terms. Greater formality was invoked by combining these words: *Aboriginal inhabitant*, *Australian Aboriginal*, *Australian black*, *Australian native*, *Aboriginal native*. The tautology *Aboriginal native* was the collective noun preferred in courts of law. The preferred 'core' term in the early years of settlement was *native*, but by the end of the century *Aborigine* had become more common, however, the shift in balance was only marginal and *black* was used throughout as a respectable alternative.

With the passage of time and growing 'colonial experience' more 'familiar' terms were employed. *Black*, although used in the same 'neutral' or formal sense as *Aborigine* and *Native*, nonetheless had a generally more informal sense. It was not uncommon, for instance, for a journalist when writing in generalities to use the term *Native* or *Aborigine*, but when referring to specifics—to events or individuals—to use the term *black*. Following earlier usages in other Australian colonies, *blackfellow* became increasingly popular as an informal term. The term 'blackfellow' made its first appearance in NSW Pidgin English in 1801. In a detailed investigation of *fella* in Pidgin English, Baker (1995:1) reports:

The first hint of a new role for *fellow* is to be found just 13 years later. A British prisoner had escaped and the army officer responsible for him went in pursuit accompanied by an Aborigine tracker. After two or three days, they saw the figure of a man far ahead of them and, after observing the way he moved, the Aborigine exclaimed *no blackfellow.*

(1) NSW 1801 *no black fellow* (Grant 1803:91: "that is not an Aborigine")

There are few pidgin data available from NSW in the first two or three decades but, from the 1820s, it is clear that *black fellow* and *white fellow* were the normal terms used by Whites and Aborigines in referring to each other, and that such usage was spreading as other parts of Australia began to be settled (see examples 2-5).

(2) NSW 1823 *black-fellows, when they died, would jump up, or rise again, white-fellows, and that white-fellows would jump up black-fellows.* (Lang 1847:415).

(3) TAS 1824 *Hanging no good for black fellow. Very good for white fellow, for he used to it.* (Melville 1959, 1:33).

(4) WES 1829 (leeches are) *very good for white fellow* (Wilson 1835:259).

(5) WES 1833 *no black-fellow no queeple* (Moore 1884:163: 'Aborigines don't steal').

By 1847, both *black fellow* and *white fellow* had been attested in all Australian states (including Northern Territory).

As regards South Australia, the earliest documented use is in 1838 in Bull: 'black fellow no throw big one spear that long way' (1884:84). In the same volume (p.152 referring to the year 1841), we find: 'White man plenty growl and then he shoot old man grandfather.' Another term for white man is *Massa*, again reported for the first time in 1841: 'by and by, you see, Massa, me 'pta' all night.' [= eat] (Eyre 1845, vol 2:30)[2]

The following report on the conflicts between local Adelaide and Murray River 'Aborigines' (*South Australian Register*,[3] 24 April 1844) illustrates a number of interesting points about the developing language use:

After this summary manner of settling old differences, whether right or wrong, the cry was "What for policemen do this? When white man fight in Adelaide, black fellow say nothing. When black fellow fight, policeman come break spears, break shields, break all; no good. What for you no stop in English?" "But what for you fight," I asked. "What for? Me tell you," replied King John, "but no man what for we fight. Before white man come, Murray black fellow never come here. Now white man come, black fellow come too. Encounter Bay and Adelaide black fellow no like him. Me want them to go away. Let them sit down at the Murray, not here. This is not his country. What he do here? You tell Captain Grey to make Murray black fellow go away, no more fight then. Adelaide and Encounter Bay black fellow no want to fight; but Murray black too much saucy. Let him stop in his own country." At the conclusion of this speech, all responded "very good." It seemed to be the sentiments of all, and it was the cause of their intended battle; and I think that either the Murray blacks ought to be sent away to their own country, or that a proper understanding be effected

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2 Another variation of 'master' is still apparent in the contemporary language in southern South Australia: 'mathawi', reportedly meaning 'big boss' (Clarke, 1994b).

3 *SAR* (*South Australian Register*) is used for all textual references, even though the name of the newspaper changed several times throughout the years referenced here.

> between the belligerent parties. Unless this is done, there will sure to be fights and affrays.

We note:

(a) The asymmetrical use *white man–black fellow* in King John's speech. This possibly reflects the masculinity of the frontier: white men versus Aboriginal people of both sexes.

(b) The difference between Pidgin English and English. Pidgin *blackfellow* becomes *blacks* in the English language news items.

The word *white fellow* is encountered first in Askew (1857:55)

> They soon let me know, in tolerably good English, what they thought of me. The black gins kept calling out as I passed each "whurlie", – "Ah! white fellow, limejuicer", (which is a term used in all the colonies to newly arrived emigrants). "White fellow, no good. White fellow, too much plenty gammon"—and other similar expressions.

The asymmetry in the emergence of the expressions *black fellow* and *white fellow* is also documented for NSW, where (according to Troy 1994) *black fellow* was first documented for 1803 and *white fellow* for 1827.

By about 1850, *black fellow* had become the most common label by which Aboriginal people referred to themselves, as is evidenced for the established use of this term in South Australian Pidgin English. An example is found in Snell's diary entry for 27 December 1850:

> Made a sketch of the hut for the hut keeper to send home in a letter and then started in company with a lot of blacks who undertook to pilot us as far as a place called the little Gorge - on the way I had some conversation with one of them respecting a superstitious practice of theirs respecting Opossum bones. You see, said he, s'pose one black fellow kill-um 'possum go 'way leave 'em bone on ground, then 'nother one black fellow pick'um up and wrap em in rag, long o' grease and pitch, and red ochre well, by'm bye plenty stink and then blackfellow go sick, sing out "oh him got my bone". Well bye and bye other one black fellow burn em bone long o'fire and then black fellow plenty tumble down, crack a back. (Snell 1988)

It is notable that some of the earliest uses of *blackfellow* in colonial literature were recorded uses by Aborigines themselves (*South Australian Register*, 24 April 1844). However, this 'pidgin' sense was lost as it became more and more commonly used.

Darkie, an American term for African-American, was in use in Australia by the 1840s. The *Australian National Dictionary* (Ramson 1988:193) gives its earliest usage as New South Wales in 1845. A letter by a policeman, printed in the *South Australian Register* on 15 July 1848 is the earliest example we have found in the South Australian literature. Like *blackfellow*, it could be a term of familiarity and 'colonial experience'. It appears to have been more commonly used than the literary record would suggest. Christina Smith, for example, indicates its use among pastoral workers in the Lower South East after the 1840s. On one occasion she quoted a local settler telling her that she was too kind 'to the darkies' (Smith 1880:54), and in another instance, she recorded a local stock keeper's advice that dogs were the best method to 'manage the darkies' (p.63). The context indicates a pejorative, hostile use of the term. By the 1880s, however, its use was becoming more acceptable and was increasingly evident in the colonial press. An article about Tommy Walker, a prominent Adelaide Aborigine during the 1890s, employed the term *darkie* with a sense of patronising familiarity (*Adelaide Observer*, 15 January 1898).

Nigger, like *darkie*, was an adopted American term, the *Australian National Dictionary* giving its earliest recorded use in Australia as 1845 (Ramson 1988:434). The pastoralist J.F. Hayward (1929:89), who lived in the far north of South Australia in the 1860s, often used the term in his reminiscences; he wrote, for instance, about his 'campaigns against the niggers'. In a letter to the *South Australian Register,* dated 8 February 1865, J. B. Hughes, a settler sympathetic to the Aborigines, wrote: 'The settlers or overseers generally too readily believe the tales against the "niggers" as they style them in the Far North...'. The passage suggests that the usage was somewhat unusual, or characteristic of the region. The word *nigger* was not commonly used in the colonial press until the 1880s.

The names and linguistic habits of North American Indians too were attributed to South Australian indigenous people. It is quite unlikely that *squaw* would have been used (see remarks on *gin* and *lubra* below) and the terms *scalp* and *big lot pain* are suspect:

> Arrived at the whirleys, Pat's master called to one of the blacks who understood English, and told him what he wanted.
>
> 'We understand', said the black, 'big bird tumble down, never tumble up again, white feller want scalp, black feller do it very well: what white feller give?' added he.
>
> 'Oh, time enough when I see how the work is done', said the gentleman.
>
> 'You give us tucker,' said another of the party; 'squaw very bad, tumble down sick; big lot pain, very ill, want good tucker.'
>
> 'No doubt,' said the party address; 'but if two of you come that is enough. I do not require the whole party' (A Colonist 1867:94).

It is also interesting how the same writer translates the expression: *old woman plenty tumble down* into stereotypical Negro English "Our Moder dead"' (p.95).

The following account from the *Adelaide Observer* (12 December 1914) suggests both that the term 'nigger' is used by ignorant whites and further that black people resent it. Of course, the writer of this piece treats Aboriginal objectives as a joke rather than a serious matter:

> In return for chopping the domestic wood, carting water, and doing little odd jobs at the station, 'Johnny Murphy', a burly yet tired native, was kept in food, clothing, tobacco, and given a few shillings to boot by the Federal Government. When the new Swedish cook arrived (replacing another who had been dismissed for consuming Worcestershire sauce as a morning pick-me-up) he was certainly not educated up to the importance and social standing of the local aborigines. He said to us on the morning of commencing his kitchen duties: 'Vat you call dat big 'alkin' joint of a nigger vat brings in de vood and vaters?' 'That dark gentleman is Johnny Murphy', we replied. 'He is highly respected by his tribe, and I hope you will show him the deference which his social position among the wurlies demands.' The new cook shoved his head out through the small open kitchen window and yelled thusly to Johnny Murphy, who was languidly discussing a cooked sheep's head at the woodheap, while a dozen other natives eyed him anxiously and hopefully. 'Shonny Murphy, you big black nigger, come 'ere and take de bucket for some vater.' Johnny withdrew his face from the sheep's ditto and looked across at the Swede with astonishment depicted on the small portion of his countenance not hidden by his copious cataract of whiskers, but did not answer. 'You 'ear me, you old scamp' cried the cook. 'My cripes, I stiffen you mit a gridiron if you don't come, you black scamp'.... Johnny stood up and with outraged dignity fizzing all over him replied "What you bin talkem likey dat? 'What for you bin speakem me all same me common feller black man? Me no all same common feller black man; me workem alonga Gov'ment me Fedel

> servant!' This declaration staggered the cook, and he at once became civil. Johnny therefore, did not write out his resignation.

The term *blackboy* is documented for NSW not earlier than 1895 and we find the first occurrence of this label for South Australia in J. C. Smith's diary for the years 1872/3 in the MacDonnell Ranges (entry for 20th November 1873), and a few scattered uses are encountered subsequently, in the *South Australian Register* (for example 19 August 1911) or Joan Lupton's diary for the year 1938 of her train journey to the far north of Australia (p.31): 'Dick, the master of ceremonies where the black boys are concerned.' In southern Australia, grasstrees (*Xanthorrhoea* species) have been commonly called 'blackboys' since early last century (Ramson 1988:60). This is probably due to its appearance: a tall, narrow stalk protruding from the tussock being suggestive of an Aboriginal man with a spear in hiding behind a bush.

During the 1880s a local illustrated weekly, *Lantern*, published satirical cartoons which occasionally featured Aborigines as their subjects. In the same period it also published cartoons of the American 'Sambo' stereotype[4]—presumably lifted from the British press (Figures 1 and 2). The interesting feature of the cartoons is that the depictions of Aborigines began to take on characteristics of the 'Sambo' stereotype (Figures 3 and 4). It is certainly no coincidence that 'black-face' vaudeville entertainment was all the rage in Adelaide theatres at the time (Figure 5).[5] The depiction of the Aboriginal called Logic, in the cartoon 'A logical conclusion', clearly draws from this style of theatrical representation (Figure 4).[6] This (con-)fusion of Aboriginal and African-American stereotypes, in both popular language and pictorial representation, underscores how marginal Aborigines were to the experience of the urban culture that produced such representations.

On this point, it might be observed that Aborigines were rarely a topic of discussion in *Lantern*. After the 1860s, as the southern frontiers quietened, and the perception of Aborigines as a 'dying race' became more entrenched, Aborigines seemed to recede from public consciousness. These conditions created a vacuum in which 'local' stereotypes, for a period at least, could be replaced by a generic stereotype.

While the word *savage* was sometimes employed to mean 'the original inhabitants' in the same sense as *Aborigine* or *native*, it usually had other connotations. In an anthropological sense, *savage* was used as an antonym of 'civilised'. In 1840, for instance, Governor Gawler was contrasting savagery and civilisation when he wrote of 'the true principle upon which a nation should proceed in colonising a province, once the exclusive abode of barbarous nations, or savage and erratic tribes' (*South Australian Register*, 4 December 1840). Almost sixty years later an *Advertiser* (21 December 1897) editorial used the term in the same sense:

> Advancing civilisation claims and exercises an inherent right to carve a way for itself, and the monopolising of a continent by a comparative handful of savages could not be accepted as a permanent and equitable arrangement.

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4 The stereotype persisted for some considerable time. A much more recent manifestation is a Western Desert man called Sambo (Bolam 1929:92).

5 Over the course of the 1880s advertisements for 'blackface' stage shows appeared regularly in *Lantern*. See, for example, 'Tom Hudson's surprise party - the white eyed musical kaffir', *Lantern*, 14 January 1888:8.

6 *Lantern*, 19 December 1885:12.

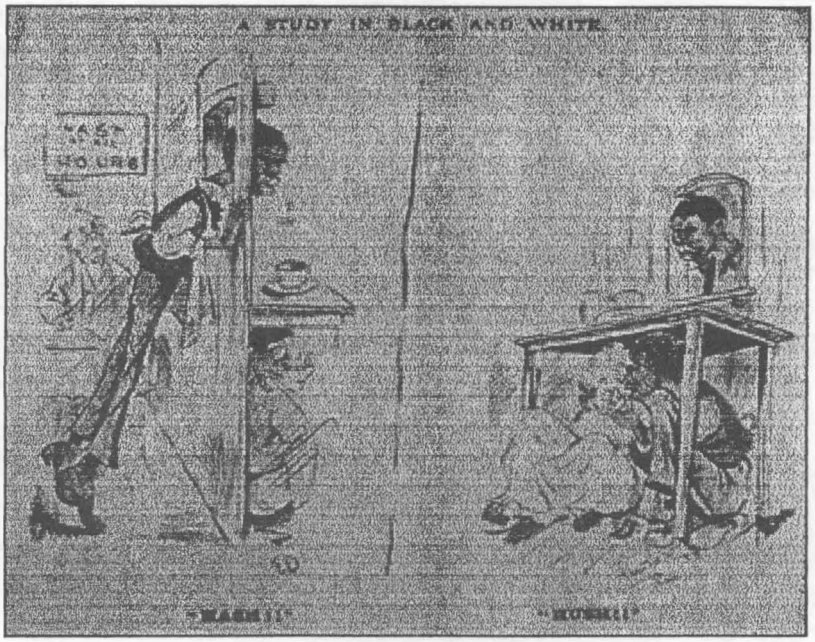

FIGURE 1: A STUDY IN BLACK AND WHITE. LANTERN, 27 NOVEMBER 1883
(Courtesy of the Mortlock Library of South Australiana)

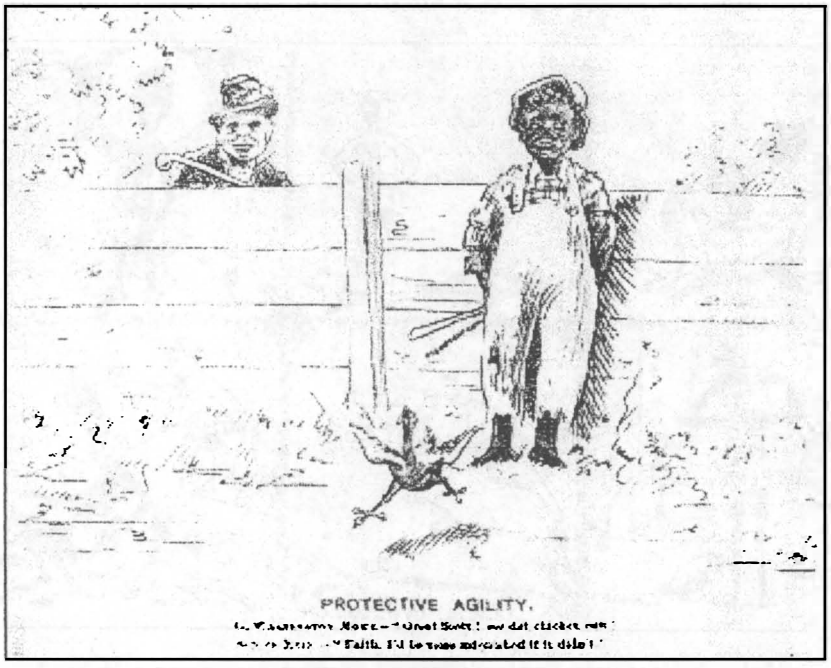

FIGURE 2: PROTECTIVE AGILITY, LANTERN, 29 SEPTEMBER 1888
(Courtesy of the Mortlock Library of South Australiana)

FIGURE 3: AMONGST THE BLACKS, FROM RELIGIOUS POINT OF VIEW, LANTERN, 25 JULY 1885 (Courtesy of the Mortlock Library of South Australiana)

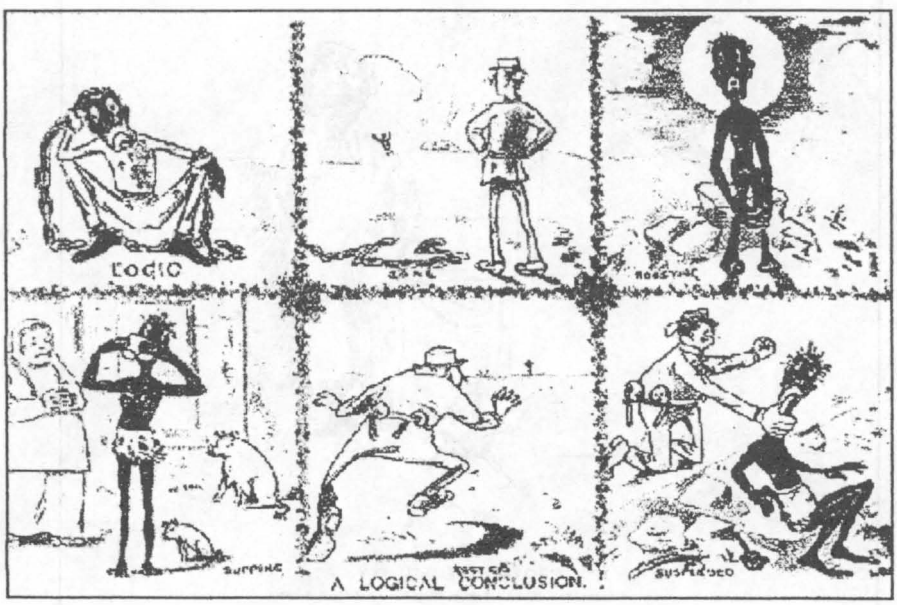

FIGURE 4: A LOGICAL CONCLUSION, LANTERN, 19 DECEMBER 1885 (Courtesy of the Mortlock Library of South Australiana)

FIGURE 5: TOM HUDSON'S SURPRISE PARTY - THE WHITE EYED MUSICAL KAFFIR, LANTERN, 14 JANUARY 1888 (Courtesy of the Mortlock Library of South Australiana)

In this sense, *savage* was used to mean racially or culturally backward, primitive, low in the 'Great Chain of Being' or the scale of evolution. Closely allied to the anthropological usage of the term is the sense in which it was used to evoke the exotic. A diarist in the 1840s wrote of 'the wild, the savage, the plaintive Corroborry' (Cawthorne, 11 February 1844). In accounts of frontier violence *savage* was used to stress what was regarded as the inherently 'cruel', 'ruthless' or 'treacherous' nature of the Aborigines. Typical of this usage is the following passage from a discussion of the Aborigines in 1852: 'The general characteristics of the savage—cruelty, vindictiveness, and treachery are not wanting in the tribes of Australia' (*Adelaide Observer*, 14 February 1852). In these contexts the term conveyed the more modern sense of *savage* as violent, heinous, cruel, and so forth. The idea of the 'noble savage' was familiar to most Europeans in colonial society, but when it was invoked at all it was usually in a satiric sense (for example *Adelaide Observer*, 31 July 1858).

More influential probably was the influence of the so called four-stage theory in the 18th century (see Meek 1976; Borsboom 1988), in which humans are allocated a developmental stage according to their mode of subsistence: Borsboom comments:

> By this time [= early 19th century], an important geographical shift had taken place. In many writings the Australian Aborigines had taken over the role of the Ignoble Savage from the American Indians. Unlike their American counterparts, the Aborigines hardly ever had the honour to feature as Noble Savage. By the time Europe had learned about the existence of the Aborigines, the four-stage theory of the Enlightenment was well established and evolutionism was on the verge of being born. Although discoveries elsewhere in the Pacific had given a new impulse to the conception of the Noble Savage, mainly the Tahitians and Hawaiians were classified as such. Smith, 1985, distinguishes between 'soft

primitivism' (the afore-mentioned islanders) and 'hard primitivism', of which the Aborigines were regarded as exponents.

From classical times onwards the inhabitants of the antipodes had been depicted as what has been called above 'Plinian races', namely as monsters with inverse human characteristics. The first European eyewitness reports from Australia did not exactly mention monsters, but to the Dutch, as well as to the early English explorer Dampier, the Aborigines (new Hollanders) represented the most 'miserable' people on earth who had nothing to offer. In a way they possessed inverse human characteristics, like the Plinian races. They were naked, and reportedly had no language and no fixed habitation. Even James Cook - who comes closest to a Noble Savage conception of the Aborigines - admitted that they '...move about from place to place like wild Beasts in search of food' (quoted from Turner Strong 1986:180). The judgment that prevailed in the nineteenth and early twentieth century has more affinity with Dampier's description than with Cook's.

Turner Strong (1986:181), who gives an analysis of the position of Aborigines in European social thought up till 1845, notes in this respect that a '...few sympathetic appraisals of Aborigines appeared in journals of exploration and colonization, especially after 1830, but these foundered in general disdain'. Some decades earlier, Lord Monboddo had expressed the view that the New Hollanders, as described by Dampier, were illustrative of the 'link between humans and the orangutang; here humans (Aborigines) had advanced only slightly beyond the animal world.' (Barsboom 1988:427)

3. 'TRIBAL' OR GROUP NAMES

Throughout the colonial period it was uncommon for Aboriginal tribal groups to be referred to by indigenous language names. Through the work of protectors and missionaries, the government was aware of political, linguistic and territorial divisions among Aborigines, but it had no desire to recognise, nor deal directly with, any of those indigenous political entities (Foster 1993:155–174). In the first generation of European settlement, Aboriginal culture tended to be defined negatively, as a series of absences and omissions, rather than positively, as a people with a different culture. Measured against the model of 'civilisation', the Aborigines were regarded as having no leaders, no land ownership, no gods, no moral code, and so forth. It was as though to employ an indigenous name was to recognise and impart solidity to an indigenous group. When it was necessary to distinguish one group of Aboriginal people from another, geographical labels were usually employed. In the early years of settlement, for instance, the Aborigines whose territory included Adelaide, were the 'Adelaide blacks', or the 'Adelaide tribe'. The Aborigines from the River Murray, in the area of Moorundie, were the 'Moorundie tribe' and so forth. Geographical names also reflected the often transitory significance of local groups in particular areas. For instance, the 'Saltwater blacks'—Aboriginal groups from the region of the Lake Eyre Basin—became 'visible' during the 1870s and 1880s because of the trouble they caused in the Flinders Ranges when they travelled south to collect ochre. For the southern settlers, for this brief period, the 'Saltwater Blacks' meant trouble, possibly the loss of stock or supplies. It is clear that Aboriginal social structure in the earliest years of European settlement was far too complex to be easily divided by colonists into large groups that mirrored European 'states'.[7] Even in the 20th century, the model of rigid language/land-owning groups that

[7] An exception is the Parnkalla vocabulary of Eyre Peninsula by C. Schurmann (1844).

anthropologists, such as Tindale (1940, 1974), called 'tribes', has largely been rejected by scholars (Clarke 1994:52–81).

We note that some of the group labels became used by indigenous people in their Pidgin English, an example being *Murray black fellow* in the 1844 quotation given above.

Some Europeans recorded Aboriginal names for specific language or cultural groups. In Clamor Schurmann's published works (1846 and in a brief article in the *South Australian Colonist* of 10 March 1840) he recorded group names for the region from Adelaide to Encounter Bay and later for the Port Lincoln district, but none entered into contemporary colonial parlance. The failure to employ indigenous names reflects the relatively low political status of these groups, in the eyes of Europeans. The nuances of Aboriginal political structure would hardly have seemed important to the colonisers who wanted to change them. The illuminating exception is the *Milmenrura* tribe. The *Milmenrura* were the group alleged to have massacred the survivors of the *Maria*, which had been shipwrecked on the southern coast of the colony in 1840 (Jenkin 1979:57). Almost immediately the settlers were referring to the 'notorious Milmenrura tribe', and even 'Milmenrura nation'. Their notoriety strengthened by their alleged involvement in the murder of other Europeans at an earlier date (p.56). What really pushed the Milmenrura into the spotlight was the debate over Gawler's decision to sanction the summary execution of the Aboriginal people charged with involvement in the massacre. Gawler, and his apologists, claimed that the Milmenrura constituted a 'savage nation', owing no allegiance to the Crown—a state of affairs that justified the use of martial law (*South Australian Register*, 19 September 1840). Without getting into the technicalities of the debate, the 'Milmenrura nation' was a political convenience for Gawler, employed to defend himself against accusations that he had acted illegally in sanctioning the execution of British subjects—the Aborigines. Gawler's argument was disowned by the Crown, and publicly so when George Grey arrived to replace him (*South Australian Register*, 29 May 1841). Importantly, the colonists had very little notion of who the 'Milmenrura nation' were, either of their territory, leaders or laws. From the colonists' perspective, the *Milmenrura* were, to put it prosaically, 'those Aborigines, associated with a certain region of the southern coast of South Australia, implicated in the massacre of certain shipwreck survivors'. The *Milmenrura* were perhaps the only nation in history to be defined by the act of massacring shipwreck survivors. The important point is that the sense of opposition created, for a brief time, a named Aboriginal group defined in political terms.

The revival of ethnographic interest in Aborigines from the 1870s witnessed an increasing number of Aboriginal groups referred to by indigenous names: notably the 'Dieri' (Gason 1874), the 'Booandik' (Smith 1880), and the 'Narrinyeri' (Taplin 1873). Many of these 'tribal' terms appear to have come into being through the increased interaction between Aboriginal groups that were formerly socially and physically separated (Clarke 1991a:54–58; 1994a:74–81). European settlement, therefore, has created categories of Aboriginal social structure that previously had little or no chance to express themselves. Scholars were able to describe 'tribes' that, as names, were new to the historical literature. However, these indigenous names were slow to enter common parlance. Newspaper articles describing the Point McLeay Mission settlement still referred to the *blacks*, or the *natives*, rather than to their tribal or cultural name, the *Narrinyeri*. The Aborigines were, at this point, perceived to be a dying race, the studies of them were for the purpose of recording something of a 'primitive culture' that would soon be lost. However culturally interesting, colonial society

refused to regard these groups as sufficiently significant to warrant the use of indigenous identifiers.

4. TERMS DISTINGUISHING SOCIAL CATEGORIES

European settlement from 1836 impacted upon Aboriginal people in a variety of ways; some tried to 'stay out', others found themselves on missions, working on pastoral stations, living in fringe camps or, indeed, moving from one context to another. Europeans employed a variety of epithets to describe the various social categories Aborigines were perceived to occupy. One of the basic, and one that survives today among both white and black Australians, is *wild blacks*. From 1840, Judge Cooper of the Supreme Court made a distinction between individuals of 'wild and savage tribes' who had had no contact with Europeans, and those who showed some cognisance of European ways (*South Australian Register*, 19 September 1840). Cooper was the Judge who advised Governor Gawler that the *Milmenrura* were not British subjects and might be regarded as a people, or 'nation', outside ordinary British law. Using the *Milmenrura* as an example, he stated his case this way (Colonial Secretary's Office, GRG 24/1/1841/131):

> ...the Milmenrura tribe...are a wild and savage tribe whose country, although within the limits of South Australia, has never been occupied by settlers - people who have never submitted themselves to our domination, and between whom and the settlers there has been no social intercourse.

Wild blacks, as a social category, were more than just a legal creation, most settlers distinguished between the *wild blacks* and those who were in regular contact with colonial society. The *wild blacks*, almost by definition, existed on the 'other side of the frontier'. A variety of synonyms were used to describe this category of Aborigines: *wild natives, wild blackfellows, bush natives, untamed savages, untutored natives*, and *myall* (a term originating in NSW Pidgin English).

During the frontier years in the various districts of the colony, the idea of *wild blacks* probably evoked some sense of fear, after all, it was the *wild blacks* who stole the sheep, plundered the stores and assassinated the isolated shepherd. This sense of fear is expressed, for instance, in O'Halloran's report of the expedition to the Murray River:

> The cruel tribe we are now surrounded by are very numerous, and have, doubtless, become emboldened by having defeated three successive parties of Europeans and having also escaped punishment from any detachment (*South Australian Register,* 10 July 1841).

However, as the frontier areas of the colony shrank and most of the Aboriginal people Europeans came into contact with were living on pastoral stations, missions, or in fringe camps, *wild blacks* increasingly took on romantic, even nostalgic, connotations. In evidence before the 1899 Select Committee inquiring into the Aborigines Bill, a number of witnesses distinguished between *wild blacks* and *civilised* or *semi-civilised blacks*. A sheep farmer, for instance, noted 'I would rather deal with a wild blackfellow than with many civilised blackfellows' (Select Committee, 1899:18). As early as 1865 a similar distinction was made by a northern settler when he observed that the 'principal depredations so frequently committed are not done by wild blacks, but by those usually harboured about stations' (*South Australian Register*, 7 September 1865).

In 1861 Mary Rainberd and her children were murdered at Kapunda by a group of four drunken Aboriginal men. The event marked a symbolic turning point in the European perception of Aborigines. One newspaper editor observed (*Adelaide Observer*, 16 March 1861):

> ...it will be found that the miscreants who perpetrated this crime belong to a class of blackfellows compared with whom the ordinary native is a civilized man - a class who hang about the townships of the interior, and who when not drunk keep themselves from starving by beggary and theft.

As the passage indicates, *semi-civilised Blacks* were those Aborigines living in camps within the settled districts, on the fringes of towns or stations, or near places where the government distributed rations. In popular imagination *semi-civilised blacks* were said to have acquired all the vices of civilisation with none of the attendant virtues and, in this context, were regarded as even more dangerous than *wild blacks*. As a newspaper columnist wrote in 1861:

> Many say that the present generation is far worse than the last—that the vices of civilization have been grafted on the vices of barbarism, while the virtues of the savage have been altogether unaided by the virtues of Christianity (*South Australian Register*, 5 July 1861).

Of all the social categories Aborigines were placed in during the nineteenth century, to be *semi-civilised* was to be at the bottom of the pile. Gillen (Select Committee 1899:99) expressed a colonial truism when he said: 'The blackfellow in his savage state is infinitely superior to the semi-civilised natives who haunt the towns all over Australia'.

The terms *wurley natives* and *camp blacks*, while approaching the meaning of *wild blacks*, had other connotations. In 1870 the missionary Matthew Hale wrote of his fears that his inmates at Poonindie, Aborigines who were being instructed in how to live 'good Christian lives' in 'civilised' surroundings, might be 'enticed back into the bush to live again with the Wurley natives' (published 1889, p.69). *Wurley natives* and *camp blacks* were popular descriptions of the Aborigines who lived on the fringes of the mission and while not subject to its institutional control were provided with food and supplies for menial tasks.

The meaning of the phrase *civilised native* varied somewhat according to the observer and the context. At one end of the scale, a *civilised Native* was someone living and working in the manner of a European. In 1861 Henry Cottrell who, we are informed, was 'most certainly civilized before he was christianised' (*Adelaide Observer*, 20 July 1861) was held up as a paragon of the 'civilised native'—he not only farmed land in the Mount Barker district but he was a regular church goer. Thus, in a broad sense, a *civilised Native* was someone who had been educated in a European fashion and lived a European lifestyle. Despite this, the use of *civilised natives* was often synonymous with *semi-civilised natives*. A central Australian storekeeper giving evidence to the 1899 Select Committee said of the mission educated Aborigines:

> There is no doubt that the niggers are brought up very nice, and they are treated jolly well too, I reckon. They can sing and talk well. Cattle killing goes on just the same, however. Say the civilised blacks go out 100 miles, they will not spear the cattle themselves, but they get the wild blacks to do it for them. The civilised boys are too cunning to kill. (Select Committee, p.63)

Appearing before the same committee, another witness noted that the evidence of 'half-civilised or wholly-civilised natives' needed to be treated with more caution than that of a

wild native, presumably on the basis that they were 'all the more cunning for their education' (p.7).

Being 'civilised' and 'intelligent' also presupposes the ability to speak standard English. This view remains constant over the years. Consider:

> Marataya was examined through Coodmatcha, a young intelligent native, who spoke English well, and stated, that before the murders took place he used always to be with Nulta, and travelled about with him as his mate. Nulta was a very bad blackfellow, always growling every day. He had killed a great many blackfellows, and had killed his own father." (*South Australian Register,* 24 November 1846)

Similarly, Bolam (1929:93) introduces Wong-un-ma, 'a very intelligent lad, who acquired English in an incredibly short time.'

Whilst a good knowledge of English is often interpreted as indicative of 'cheekiness' on rare occasions, it is seen as empowering its speakers, as the following report in the *South Australian Register*, dated 28 June 1915 demonstrates:

> MR. VAUGHAN AND THE ABORIGINE.
> Speaking at the annual meeting of Minda Home, on Saturday afternoon, the Premier, Hon., Crawford Vaughan related 'a little incident' which had come to his notice. A certain member of the legal profession invaded the domain sacred to the aborigines, and endeavoured to persuade a native in a certain political direction by pointing out certain constitutional problems to him in pidgin English. The native looked up at him, and said in almost perfect English. 'What you mean is this. That our Constitution is framed upon the American model, whereas it ought to be framed upon the Swiss' (laughter). 'I think that lawyer got the biggest setback he ever had' said Mr Vaughan 'and if I tell you that he was my brother you will know I am not taking any liberties.

The epithet 'dusty gentleman' (*South Australian Register*, 14 September 1921) is a backhanded compliment, suggestive of pretentiousness rather than 'genuine' gentlemanly qualities.

In the early colonial period *wild blacks* were generally regarded as morally and culturally degenerate and the ideal of 'Enlightened colonialism' was to produce *civilised blacks* capable of taking their place in white society. Missionaries fully expected to bask in reflected glory when their charges demonstrated their rejection of the 'old ways' and their facility in the ways of civilised society. By the late colonial period the advent of evolutionary anthropology had reversed the emotional polarity of this conception. In 1898 the scientist J.B. Cleland advocated fieldwork among the Aborigines of central Australia on the grounds that these people were 'less likely to be mixed with other races':

> In other words, in studying the purest examples of Australia aborigines, the scientific investigator would be studying as purely local productions as would be found in the respective flora and fauna (*Adelaide Observer*, 8 October 1898).

To the anthropologist Frank Gillen, they were 'interesting barbarians' who, for the sake of science, should be protected from encroaching civilisation (Select Committee, 1899:97). Consider the contrast in the following passage:

> From the civilized natives practically nothing can be learnt concerning aboriginal lore and the primitive customs of the race. Their instinct of imitation is as strong as that of a child, and they take their notions from white men without being aware that they are doing so; but, amidst the almost unexplored regions of

> Central Australia, which Messrs. Spencer and Gillen will visit, the real ideas of the blacks, as they have existed from time immemorial, may be found intact (*Adelaide Observer*, 17 September 1898).

Thus science created a distinction between *wild blacks*—the 'real blacks'—whose culture had existed from 'time immemorial', and *civilised/semi-civilised blacks* who had no culture.[8] This construction has underpinned the work of Australian anthropology for much of the twentieth century and shaped the popular image of Aborigines.

While strictly speaking, the term *half-caste* means the progeny of parents from different racial backgrounds, in the Australian context it implicitly meant someone of part-Aboriginal descent. In using the term no one would ever have taken it to mean 'half-caste white'. It was not until about the 1860s that *half-castes* began to be recognised as a distinct category within the colonial population. In 1866 a newspaper editorial in support of a proposed mission on Yorke Peninsula, drew attention to the plight of the Aboriginal children in the district, observing:

> Many of these poor children are half-castes, and there is something sad in the thought that the children possessing our blood, and with our blood something of the vigour and quickness of our race, should be doomed to such a life as the aborigines of these lands live (*South Australian Register*, 17 November 1863).

It is interesting that in the early colonial period interracial relationships, while perhaps objected to on moral grounds, were not especially opposed on racial grounds. As the passage above indicates, the 'social plight' of the *half-castes* was regarded as a problem, but not their racial make-up. The government, in fact, encouraged racial intermarriage, and, by extension, assimilation, as early as the 1840s by providing grants of land to European men who married Aboriginal women (Foster 1993:189–190). However, as evolutionary anthropology began to codify ideas of race in the late colonial period, and as the ideal of 'racial purity' acquired greater influence, *half-caste* not only implied immorality, but biological impurity and inferiority. The hardening attitudes are evident in an editorial discussion of the murders carried out by the Governor brothers in New South Wales in 1900 (pp.336–337). Employing the pseudo-Darwinian language of the day the writer argued that 'by a process of unnatural selection the half-caste in Australia is evolved, and this condition must inevitably lead to degeneracy' (*The Advertiser*, 1 November 1900). In the same article the author also observed:

> Travellers have often noted that the half-caste generally inherits nearly all the vices of each side of his parentage and very few of the virtues. The pride and domineering instincts of the white are conjoined with the craftiness, treachery, and lack of self control of the blacks.

What is interesting here is that the language once employed to describe the *semi-civilised black*, is now used for the *half-caste*, the difference being that the mechanism by which these contradictory characteristics are passed on is genetic rather than cultural.

One consequence of the emergence of a 'part-Aboriginal population' is that it challenged the prevailing view that the Aborigines were 'a dying race'. By the 1890s, while it was still generally believed that the *full-blood Aborigines* were dying out, it was now being conceded that the part-Aboriginal population was increasing. This perception was very important in the dramatic shift of government policy away from integration and toward segregation.

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8 In the contemporary speech of southern Australia, the 'wild blacks' are mythical spirits who embody the attributes of the 'old people', that is the pre-European culture (Clarke 1994b:129–131; 1994a).

Segregation would 'protect' the Aboriginal population in their last days and 'rescue' the part-Aborigine people from the degradation of camp life.

5. THE FAMILY OF METAPHORS

It is illuminating to briefly consider the flowery metaphors sometimes used to describe Aborigines. Metaphors that played on the notion of autochthonous origins were very common; Aborigines were the 'sable sons of the soil', the 'natives of the soil', or the 'dusky sons of the soil' (*South Australian Register*, 3 January 1861; 26 June 1875; 15 January 1898). In this construction, Aborigines were literally the offspring of the earth, not the owners of the land, but veritable products of it. A variation of this is the developmental metaphor of Aborigines as the 'swarthy children of nature', 'the hapless children of the wild' or the 'children of the desert' (*South Australian Register*, 19 November 1857; 20 July 1861; 27 September 1880; 18 November 1899). These are images that reinforce the notion of benevolent paternalism because children, of course, need parents or guardians to guide them. Europeans who discussed Aboriginal issues with some sympathy, drew on metaphors which created a closer familial relationship: Aborigines were not their 'children', nor their 'sons', but their 'brothers': their 'dark brethren', 'dusky friends', 'helpless' or 'sable brethren' (*Adelaide Observer*, 9 December 1843; 8 January 1866; 2 September 1899). Such writers often belonged to missionary organisations, and were implicitly evoking the image of the 'one brotherhood of blood', the Christian notion that all men were born equal in the eyes of God. The terms used to refer to them, of course, were very different. Stow, in a letter to the Governor (*South Australian Register*, 19 April 1840) refers to 'our excellent friends, the German missionaries.'

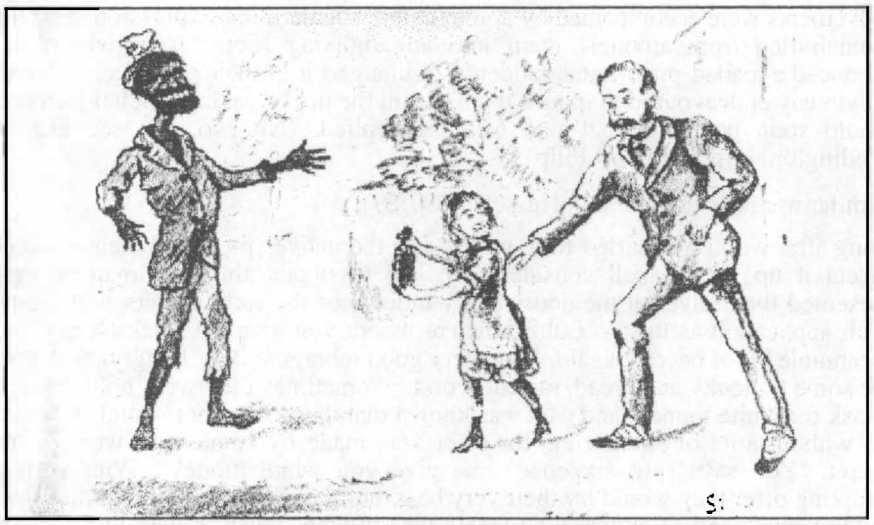
Perhaps the most common category of metaphor is connected to the belief that the Aborigines were dying out. Here the metaphors are coloured by a mixture of pity and disgust and act to distance the subject by stressing their racial otherness and at times problematising their very humanity. Aborigines were the 'feeble remnant of a ruined race', an 'ignorant and degraded race', the 'remnant of this truly pitiable race' or simply this 'poor degraded race' (*Adelaide Observer*, 5 July 1856; 1 October 1862; 13 January 1866). No familial metaphors here, no 'poor degraded brothers', no 'ignorant and dying children of nature'. What parent or sibling would be so callous as to stand back and, with no more passion than pity, watch the death of their own flesh and blood? The distancing implicit in dying race metaphors often went further than this, Aborigines were frequently 'these poor creatures', or 'these poor helpless creatures' (*Adelaide Observer*, 6 December 1862, 18 September 1874). Such language not only excluded them from the family and the race, it hinted that they were not even members of the same species. However, Europeans could also be defined in the early literature as outsiders to the ordered processes of colonial life. For instance, in a fictional account of the interaction between sealers and Aboriginal people on Kangaroo Island before official settlement, they are both called 'hourang-outangs' to stress their lack of civilisation (Cawthorne 1926:21–28).

6. APPROPRIATED ABORIGINAL TERMS

A number of expressions descriptive of Aboriginal people reached South Australia via the Pidgin English that developed in Sydney. Two particularly widespread labels are *gin* and

lubra for 'woman'. *Picaninny*, though not derived from an Aboriginal language again was established first in Aboriginal Pidgin English of New South Wales.

Gin (jin, djin), from the Sydney language, was first documented in New South Wales around 1800 (see Troy 1994:527) in the meaning female or wife.



FATHER: "Polly, what are you doing with that gin bottle?"
POLLY: "Oh! Father, mamma said that poor blackfellow had lost his gin, and I'm going to give him a drop of yours".

FIGURE 6: ABORIGINE AND GIN, LANTERN, 15 DECEMBER 1888
(Courtesy of the Mortlock Library of South Australiana)

Lubra, according to the same source, is documented first in the Bathurst district in the 1840s and is said to be 'kuntungera dialect for gin or woman' (Troy 1994:598). Both words are documented for South Australia from the time of first contact. One notices a gradual shift in meaning from generic female to black female.

In a very early reference to local women, Moorhouse (*South Australian Register*, 25 September 1841) refers to 'about one hundred blacks with their women and arms'. The term *lubra* is encountered in the same publication for the first time in 25 May 1844 in a report of a court case: 'The native...lifted the spear in an oblique direction close before her, and said "lubra give me bread"'. The term *lubra* here refers to a European woman, and it is used in a quotation in Pidgin English. In the same year (*South Australian Register*, 31 July 1844), we find: 'Jimmy and Mary, a native man and his lubra, were charged with having struck and ill-treated John Garan, milkman.' Here *lubra* refers to a black woman and is used in English rather than Pidgin. Up to the mid 19th century, the meaning of *lubra* occasionally also was spouse. Among such examples of this meaning, the following one from Snell's diary (20 May 1850) illustrates this point: 'They also told us that they had no "Lubras", i.e. husbands.' Snell, in a footnote, observes: '"Lubra" was more commonly used at this time to

refer to "woman" or "wife".' However, the colour-neutral meaning of *lubra* persists. In the *South Australian Register*, 3 May 1852, we found the following extra from a court hearing:

> She endeavoured to induce them to go away by saying that she had no flour to give them; to which one of several spokesmen replied 'me no want plour, white lubra fery good. ***' Immediately afterwards, they obtained entrance by forcing the door. They then deposited their spears in a convenient place, and commenced a dance around the terrified female. Their alarming gesticulations and mysterious movements were accompanied by unintelligible but alarming expression, and the woman fled from amongst them into an adjoining room, from which she produced a loaded pistol, and suddenly discharged it in their presence. She had previously endeavoured to induce them to quit the hut by saying that her husband would soon be home; but one of them replied, 'No, no, me see him at Wellington; him go to Port Pilip'.

And a similar use is documented in Hussey (1897:29):

> Long after wood was carted to town for sale the natives proffered their services to cut it up for a small consideration; and to obtain this employment they presented themselves at the doors and windows of the early settlers with some such application as this: - 'Lubra, me cut wood; you give me black money and picanninie bit of baccy'; again, 'You bery good lubra, me bery hungry; you give me some bullocky and bread, me cut wood.' Sometimes they were bold enough to ask for white money, and as it was known that they could not sound the letter 's' without a lot of spluttering, the offer was made by some who were in the secret, 'You say 'split sixpence', me give you white money.' With such a tempting offer they would try their very best, but they could not get further than 'pit tixpence'; and of course the bargain was broken, much to their chagrin and disappointment.

Bolam in 1929 continues to use *lubra* to refer to both Aboriginal and white women as in page 122: 'I once said to a black whose lubra had died recently...' and (p.112): '"Toby, my white lubra lose 'em brooch".' The last sentence indicates that by that time the unmarked meaning of *lubra* was 'black woman'. Bolam also uses *gin* as in (p.133): 'A gin had been rewarded for some slight service in one of our cottages.'

We would like to note that Aboriginal self-reference employs the term *lubra* as for instance in the statements by various witnesses in the famous Willshire case (1891) in the early 1890s: "Am donkey's lubra, me been sleep along camp, Chiuchewarra and all about lubra been sleep along a me..." (p.46) "Am Roger's lubra, native name Irra minta..." (p.47)

The word *gin* was first documented in South Australia in 1837 in Backhouse (1843:516) in a reference to Adelaide: 'One of them (gins) noticed Bridget Hack kissing her little son...' and a few years later in Dutton (1846:330) '...his 'gin' will ply the 'yamsticks' and dig from the soil.'

Askew (1857:84), makes the following unflattering observation: 'The Adelaide gins are considerably uglier than the men, especially those that are married and have children, (or pickaninnies).' In the reminiscences of Hammond Tilbrook (vol.1:178) 'three young black gins' are mentioned in connection with events taking place in 1864-5 but later in the same reminiscences the author (vol. 5:433) quotes a Pidgin speaker: "two lubra come along-a - this way today." The expression *gin* predictably gave rise to a fair amount of panning. An example of this is found in a cartoon printed in *Lantern* on 15 December 1888 (Figure 6).

Piccaninny is a term employed to refer to children in many pidgin languages, including the Portuguese-based ones where it was first encountered. It was first documented in

Australia for NSW in 1816 and has since spread to virtually all English-related pidgins and creoles.

The first reference to this word in South Australia comes from the mixed whaling/sealing community of Kangaroo Island. W.H. Leigh, surgeon of the Australian company ship *South Australian* reports on his visit to Kangaroo Island around 1836:

> He then took me into the wood, and, in a lonely wigwam under the bushes was this mighty chief's seraglio. He said a few words, when a noise was heard within, and a bush or two being withdrawn, he introduced me to his illustrious Sultana, by saying, 'Him good Doctor, - him love picanini.' I felt the force of his appeal, and waved my cap and bowed to them, saying, 'Good lubra! white man love good lubra!' At this they all laughed. (1839:145)

Angas (1847:55) refers to 'native children', but subsequently he describes a woman who 'was wrapped in a round grassmat, which supported her picaninny at her back'.

Wells, in his diary entry of 12 November 1853, uses *piccaninny* in both the English and Pidgin text:

> Afterwards the lubra (that is woman) with her piccaninny (that is child) came to me with a pitiful visage, and asked me if the 'lubras and their piccaninnies would be burned, for she said, 'they steal em no sheep'. And out of compassion to her, I said, no, him no burn em lubras, when she replied my lubra (her husband) 'him no steal em sheep'. But it was 'dis one blackfellow' 'dat one blackfellow' - not her innocent lubra, - as if I could propitiate the big one Master not to burn them. This seemed to pacify her, and she ceased crying, for every now and then she kept saying 'Me no more catch em pish (fish)', 'Me no more want tuckout' (food) 'Me no more want bacca' - 'Me and piccaninny be burned' 'Oh dea' 'Oh dea'. But she went away with a lighter heart because lubras and their piccaninnies were not to be burned. (p.351).

The word *picanniny* subsequently was extended to mean little, small, as in Hussey's reminiscences of the early colonial life in Adelaide (1987:29): "Lubra, me cut wood; you give me black money and picanninie bit of baccy"

Similarly, in the 1840s Penney uses the term, 'Picaninni Murray' to distinguish this group from the 'Big Murray' people (Clarke 1991b:94). Jessop remarks on the prevalence of the word in both senses around Adelaide (and this quotation reinforces what was said about the early meanings of *lubra*):

> It seems strange, that the word *piccaninny* should be used both by blacks and whites, and not a native word, when speaking of children. It is singular also that the same word *lubra* should be applied to both husband and wife, and be used by either when speaking of the other. The former word is very popular amongst them, and is applied indiscriminately to everything, to denote little or small. (Jessop 1862:47)

Like *lubra*, *piccaninny* was not clearly a racially marked item and it is used to refer to European children or young people, throughout the history of South Australian Pidgin English. Milner and Brierly (1869:177) report the following reaction of the Point MacLeay Aborigines to the Duke of Edinburgh's visit in 1867-68: 'Goolwa blackfellow big one glad see im Queen picaninny.'

The labels *lubra*, *gin* and *piccaninny*, when considered from a historical perspective share a fairly neutral, non-racist origin, but over the years acquired more and more negative connotations. They end up being non-reciprocal terms used to refer to members of socially

subordinate groups and, in the case of *lubra* and *gin*, racial slurs. The ubiquity with which Aboriginal women were referred to as *lubras* or *gins* in the Australian vernacular might be seen as reflective of the socio-sexual politics of the male-dominated Australian frontier.

We would also like to state that racism is manifested in the wider situational context rather than in the choice of a particular lexical item. In support of this claim, we would like the reader to consider a passage where *black woman* contrasts with white *lubra*, without thereby diminishing the inherent racism and sexism (Stephens 1889:480):

> Sir Roger de Coverley being a visitor to the colony and the lion of the hour, a corroboree on a large scale was arranged in his honour, not a hundred miles from Hindmarsh Island. Wishing to give an additional zest to the performance, the Hon. Roderick Random requested the black women to undrape and perform an antique dance representing innocence without her clothes. The reply came sharp and crisp, 'What for white-fellow wantum black woman dance likeum that? You askum white lubras jump about mid no clothes: you hear what she yabber yabber.' Mitford, one of Australia's greatest humourists, published an apology in words something like the following: 'It was evidently a misapprehension on the part of the native woman, due no doubt to her want of a correct knowledge of the English language. We are in a position to state, that the Hon. Roderick did not ask the native women to dance in a state of nudity. He simply requested them a favour to their illustrious guest, to kindly dance to a *new ditty*; hence the unfortunate mistake.

7. GIVEN PROPER NAMES

A theme we cannot develop here in full is the widespread practice of the European colonists not to address their Aboriginal neighbours by their own traditional names, but to give them English ones. These new given names are either serious (for instance, a signal conversion to Christianity), simply convenient (such as 'station' names), or, in the majority of instances, demeaning nicknames that emphasise the subordinate social position of their name bearers. Many examples are found in the literature surveyed, and this practice is common for most other European colonies. We shall list only a few examples and would like to suggest that this practice deserves a separate more detailed study.

In preference to using Aboriginal names, Europeans often anointed Aborigines with European names such as Jack, Jacky, Jimmy, Jemmy, Bob or Bobby, Tommy, Mary or Maria, Betsy, Charlie, and so on. Indicative of the status of those who received them, many of the names were in the diminutive form, characteristic of the European practice of referring to children by the diminutive form of their given name. To distinguish one 'Jacky' or 'Bob' from another, a defining prefix was often attached to the name. Many of the prefixes referred to the country or location of the individual: for instance, Encounter Bay Bob, Onkaparinga Jack, or Spring-cart Gully Jemmy (*South Australian Register* 17 March 1838; 1 August 1840; 12 September 1853). At other times the prefix defined the individual by a physical characteristic. Simpson Newland's description of three prominent Aboriginal men at Encounter Bay during the 1840s bears out the point; Big Solomon, a 'prominent headman of the whale fishery' is described as 'an immensely powerful fellow, considerably over 6ft in height, and reputed to be the strongest man in the district save one' (Newland 1895:5), One-armed Charlie got his name because of a mutilated limb (p 6), while Shaking Jack was 'so called from being affected by the palsy' (p.7).

How the giving of European names reflects both European power and the namer's contempt for Aboriginal people can be seen in the following scene described in Snell's diary from 12 July 1850 at Milne Point on the Yorke Peninsula:

> After dinner, I paid a visit to the blacks at their worleys and fraternized with them over some of their fish—they corroboree'd after their fashion and I sung them lots of English songs with which they appeared much pleased and they tried to imitate them. I was requested to give 'white fellow names' to the children and I christened them according to their appearance, 'Belly ache', 'Potbelly', 'Spindle Shanks', 'Duck legs', 'Flat nose', 'Goggle eyes' and so forth. The lubras were some of them very goodlooking and they wanted names too so I gave them 'Morning Star', 'Queen of Beauty', 'Water Lilly', 'Snowball', etc. etc.
>
> (Snell 1988)

During the early years of colonisation in the districts south of Adelaide, Wilkinson (1848: 336) claimed:

> The blacks living among civilised people very readily adopt any European Christian name, or in fact any word that they may be called by a white man requested to name them. Thus I remember women named Monkey, Cockeye, Pretty Sally, Grumble, Long Mary, etc.; and men named Jim Crow, Paddy, Long Jack, Jumbo, Encounter Bay Bob, Rapid Bay Jack, etc.

Similar puerile examples of name giving are encountered in many sources and this practice persisted well into the 20th century.

It is clear from the above accounts that Aboriginal people were often willing participants in receiving a European name. For instance, a long-time resident of the southern Fleurieu Peninsula stated that when she was a child, she and her playmates often came across Aboriginal people who had come into the townships around Myponga and Yankalilla:

> The piccaninnies were pretty and plump, and were carried in a blanket-sling on the mother's back. If we patted the babies and gave them sweets or fruit, the gins would show their pleasure in broad grins. They would enquire our names and on being informed, would adopt them for their children, much to our annoyance.
>
> (Welden 1936:51)

Earnest Giles, writing of his explorations on Eyre Peninsula in the 1870s, records a similar desire for European names:

> These natives all seemed anxious that I should give them names, and I took upon myself the responsibility of Christening them. The young beauty I called Polly, the mother Mary, the baby Kitty, the oldest woman Judy, and to the old man I gave the name Wynbring Tommy, as an easy one for him to remember and pronounce. (Giles 1889, vol. 1:99)

The European names adopted by, or given to, Aboriginal people, were sometimes anglicised homophones of their Aboriginal names, as Giles illustrates in the following passage:

> Old Jimmy's native name was Nanthona; in consequence he was always called Anthony, but he liked neither, he preferred Jimmy, and asked me to always call him so (pp.102–103).

The European names of Aboriginal people sometimes derived from specific associations with individuals. Jemmy Moorhouse was the name of a young Aboriginal man, educated at the Native School in Adelaide, who sometimes worked as an interpreter for the government (*South Australian Register*, 17 April 1851). His name clearly comes from his association with the Protector of Aborigines, Matthew Moorhouse. Netterie acquired the European name

Billy Poole from his association, in the early 1840s, with the surveyor William Poole (*South Australian Register*, 14 August 1855).

It became common for Aboriginal people associated with pastoral stations to acquire the surname of the family who owned the property. Matthew Moorhouse (Aborigines Department, Outward Correspondence, State Records GRG 52/1, 5 March 1847) commented upon this after visiting the Mount Remarkable district in 1847:

> I find that all the natives are known about the various stations by the names of the proprietors of runs and to a European this is more easy than adopting a native name and especially as they divide themselves into Groups according to the dialect they speak. All the natives living on Mr. Hawker's runs are called Hawker's Blacks and those on Mr Hughes runs, Hughes Blacks etc., they are well known by these names.

The acquisition of such names does not necessarily imply a biological link to the European family. However, other Aboriginal people were given, or adopted, the names of Europeans that had fathered children with Aboriginal women, often illegitimately.

Following the precedent established in the eastern colonies, South Australian colonist's adopted the practice of conferring regal 'titles' on certain Aboriginal people: King, Queen, Prince and Princess. These regal terms probably state the perceived importance of particular Aboriginal people from the European perspective, although possibly with some indigenous influence. The use of monarchistic terms to designate significant identities in the Aboriginal population predates official European settlement in 1836. In the 1830s, the sealers based on Kangaroo Island had established relationships with some mainland Aboriginal groups. Two of the people who regularly visited them on the island were King Con and Princess Con (Clarke 1994b).[9]

Perhaps the best known 'Kings' in colonial South Australia were Mullawirraburka, generally known by the colonists as 'King John', and Kertamero, or 'King Rodney' (Gara 1995). Both men were leaders among the Kaurna people and the regal designations given them by Europeans was clear acknowledgment of the fact. 'King John', together with 'Captain Jack', another prominent Kaurna man, were made honorary constables in 1838 and given staves and other 'marks of authority' by the Governor. In 1840 Protector Moorhouse (Colonial Secretary's Office, GRG 24/1/381/1840) compiled a list of seven men who he considered suitable candidates for a proposed Native Police Force, presumably on the basis of their influence among their people, the list included King John, Captain Jack and King Rodney. These men, and others given the designation of 'King', were often referred to as 'chiefs' of their tribes. However, it would be wrong to assume that the individuals given these titles were the only recognised leaders within their tribes, or even the most important ones. Regal designations might have been acquired for reasons other than an individual's perceived or actual authority. In the 1850s, William Wells, a shepherd working on the Coorong, recorded a meeting with an Aboriginal man who introduced himself as 'King Henry' - 'a youngish man and...one of the smarter and best looking natives I have seen' (1851–55:297–298). According to Wells, 'King Henry', whose demeanour is described as 'imperious', got his name from an 'English gentleman'. In this instance the regal epithet appears to describe the man's personality rather than reflect his authority.

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9 This name, sometimes spelled as 'Condoy' or 'Kondoy', may be related to the term *kondoli* (whale), which had totemic significance in the Encounter Bay region.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Europeans sometimes used the terms King and Queen to indicate respect for elderly Aboriginal people—even if it was mocking respect. An example of this is the Ngarrindjeri man, Pollapalingda, who was known by Europeans as Tommy Walker. As an elderly man in the 1890s, he was a notorious figure on the streets of Adelaide, well-known for his drinking habits, begging and sharp tongue (*Adelaide Observer*, 13 July 1901:43). In this period he was often referred to as King Tommy Walker (p.43). While, for Europeans, the title undoubtedly conveyed an image of ridiculousness (a drunken fringe-dweller *and* a member of 'royalty'), it still indicated a sense of respect for age and influence (Tommy, for instance, played a role in organising his compatriots for the annual distribution of blankets and other rations). Another important point is that Tommy used the title himself to indicate his seniority (p.43). In this sense, as used by Aboriginal people, the term 'King' became an Aboriginal-English equivalent of 'Elder'.

Aboriginal people, as well as Europeans, recognised advantages in the adoption of European names. English names were easier to pronounce and remember for English colonists than the Aboriginal given names, and the adoption of these names made the local Aboriginal population more familiar to them. Furthermore, the often patronising or demeaning names that Europeans gave to Aboriginal people served to symbolically reinforce the asymetrical power relationship between the groups. As it was Aboriginal practice to have several names (for example Meggitt 1984:278–279), varying according to social context, the acquisition of European names might have been regarded as a natural extension of this—a fact that might explain the enthusiasm of some Aboriginal people to acquire European names. Indeed, there may even have been a continuity in the style of name giving, such as names based on an individual's physical characteristics, or place of origin.

8. CONCLUSION

This survey of the 'labels' that white Australians have applied to Aboriginal people has served to map the changing relationship between the two groups. As Fesl (1993:xiv) points out, one of the first acts of the coloniser is to 'de-identify' indigenous people. This is evident, for instance, in the reticence to use indigenous group names: to do so would have implicitly acknowledged the existence of the 'Other' as a definable political entity. The colonisers, however, did more than 'de-identify' the indigenous people of Australia, they 're-identified' them in a way that that served to legitimate the inequalities of the relationship.

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THE BISLAMA LEXICON BEFORE THE FIRST WORLD WAR: WRITTEN ATTESTATIONS

TERRY CROWLEY

1. JARGON AND STABLE PIDGIN

Mühlhäusler's (1979) *Growth and structure of the lexicon of New Guinea Pidgin* represented a major landmark in the study of Pacific pidgins and creoles, presenting an extremely detailed study based on an exhaustive search of written documents relating to the history of New Guinea Pidgin, from its formative years in Samoa and the New Britain and New Ireland areas until the modern era. This was followed by Mühlhäusler's contribution in Wurm and Mühlhäusler's (1985) *Handbook of Tok Pisin (New Guinea Pidgin)*, which presented many of the same arguments, but with an updated perspective.

The view of the development of Melanesian Pidgin that is presented in these discussions is one of a language passing through a lengthy initial jargon stage, which was followed by a period of lexical and structural stabilisation and expansion. Languages at the jargon stage, Mühlhäusler (1985:80) says, are characterised linguistically by "their excessive instability, extreme impoverishment in their expressive power and their high context-dependence".

Mühlhäusler finds it difficult to describe the exact linguistic nature of the jargon stage in the history of Melanesian Pidgin because contemporary sources contain such a limited amount of reliable data. For similar sorts of reasons, the period at which the transition from unstable jargon to stable pidgin takes place appears to be difficult to pin down. In addition, he points out that the transition took place in different places at different times (Mühlhäusler 1985:76). In the case of Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea, Mühlhäusler (1979:59–83) argues that stabilisation took place gradually over a period between the 1860s and the First World War. He implies that Bislama in Vanuatu was lexically more impoverished than other contemporary varieties of Pidgin. In support of this contention, he quotes sources from Vanuatu which suggest that Bislama was still at the jargon stage in the period immediately prior to the First World War (Mühlhäusler 1979:181–182; 1985:87).

A number of studies have questioned some aspects of Mühlhäusler's interpretation of the history of Melanesian Pidgin. Clark (1979-80:35–37) suggested that the sandalwood trade in southern Melanesia between the 1840s and 1860s may have provided the social conditions for greater elaboration and stabilisation in the initial stages of the development of Bislama than Mühlhäusler has accepted. Crowley (1990) also presents arguments for a more developed form of Bislama in the second half of the nineteenth century. Keesing's (1988) recent work suggests the possibility (though it does not prove) that the end of the jargon stage may have even predated the sandalwood trade, with the social conditions having been conducive to greater stability and linguistic elaboration on whaling stations in Micronesia in the 1830s and 1840s.

Peter Mühlhäusler, ed. *Papers in pidgin and creole linguistics* No.5, 61–106.
Pacific Linguistics, A–91, 1998.

This discussion represents an attempt to establish something of the degree of lexical development in Bislama in the immediate pre-First World War period, as a way of verifying (or rejecting) arguments about the nature of the language at that time. Given the nature of our sources, no method of establishing the scope and nature of the lexicon of Bislama before World War One can expect to reveal completely accurate and comprehensive results. However, I am confident that this compilation of all written attestations that I have been able to locate of Bislama lexemes in sources dating from the 1890s and the early 1900s will reveal that Bislama cannot have been the lexically highly restricted form of communication that it has been described as in the past. In Crowley (1990:178), I indicated that published sources for Bislama relating to the period before 1919 include attestations for almost 550 items. I did not provide the supporting data for this figure at that time as this would have taken too much space, and the present discussion is intended to provide this data in full for scrutiny.[1]

2. SOURCES

A discussion on the nature of the sources for pre-First World War Bislama is in order. The writers on whose material the present compilation is based had a wide range of different kinds of experiences in Vanuatu, and their observations on Bislama varied radically in nature and reliability. Some were only in the islands for a relatively short time, while others, such as Jacomb, Fletcher and Pionnier, spent a number of years in the archipelago, and interacted on a daily basis with ni-Vanuatu in Bislama in the course of their jobs and recreation. The following represents a summary of the background of the writers upon whose pre-First World War contact this compilation has been based:

Alexander (1927): judge on the Joint Court in Vila in 1912.

Fletcher (published as Asterisk 1923, 1924): was in Vanuatu from 1912 to 1919; he spent part of his time working for the Joint Court in Vila, and part of the time managing a plantation on Epi.

Jacomb (1914, 1929): was attached to the Joint Court from 1911, and later practised as a barrister at law for several years.

Johnson (1921): visited Vanuatu in 1908, and returned in 1917 to film traditional life in northern Malakula.

Pionnier (1913): French Catholic priest based on Malakula from 1893-1899; regularly travelled to a number of other islands in the course of his duties. Unlike most other missionaries, Pionnier did not learn any indigenous languages, thus relying solely on Bislama for communication with ni-Vanuatu.

Speiser (1913a, 1913b): visited Vanuatu for eighteen months in 1910–11, spending most of his time in Santo, but travelling to a number of other islands as well.[2]

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1 While there is a substantial body of historically attested lexical (and structural) information available on pre-WWI Bislama, it is distributed over a number of sources, many of which are not easily accessible. A further advantage of this compilation, therefore, is that it brings together much information that cannot always be easily compared.

2 For interest, I have also included lexical attestations in Bislama from the following writers, whose period of contact with the language was in the two decades after the war, again because most of this information is not easily accessible:

Baker (1929): biologist who took part in a number of scientific expeditions to Vanuatu. This book was based on his visits of 1922-23 and 1927 to Gaua and Santo.

Many of these people writing about pre-war Bislama clearly saw the language as an object of ridicule. Fletcher referred to it in 1912, for example as "a weird kind of Esperanto" (Fletcher 1923:27). Value judgements such as these have clearly led some European observers in the past to manufacture improbable examples as a way of demonstrating the inadequacies of the language. For instance, as recently as the 1950s, Tailleur (1954:295) intended to poke fun at the language by saying the following:

> Voici le PIANO: I one falla sometin, masta i coll' hem bokiss b'lon music, sikin b'lon hem all' same b'lon mi falla, i cat big falla maout, maout b'lon hem i cat tou mass tout. Missis i tekem bokiss b'lon sit daoun, Missis he killim tout b'lon hem strong, bokkis i crai tou mass, bombay Missis i crai, Masta i crai tou, ollkita i crai tou, i sing sing tou mass!

However, it is possible to recognise some of these writers as having been better observers of Bislama that others. Johnson, for example, came to Malakula in 1917 to make a film record of people who he described in his book as loathsome savages, repeatedly exaggerating the danger he faced of being eaten for his efforts to record their life on film. In order to make the Malakula bush people look ridiculous, he was clearly guilty of manipulating their Bislama to maximise this effect. For instance, he attributes to one speaker the statement 'Me gottem sore leg along eye-eye' (Johnson 1921:48). The reduplicated form **ai-ai** for 'eye' is not attested in any other source for Bislama, nor indeed, as far as I know, for any other variety of Melanesian Pidgin. Additionally, no other sources suggest that **soleg** has ever been used to refer generically to a 'sore'. Thus, we can probably safely assume that this example (and some others that Johnson gives) represents a figment of the author's imagination, and such items should therefore be eliminated from this lexical compilation.

Other writers appeared to develop a good grasp of the language, and there has been relatively little need to filter their information in the compilation below. While Fletcher regarded Bislama as a "weird kind of Esperanto", and some of the earlier entries in his journal suggest that his initial references to Bislama were based on a somewhat shaky command of the language, he ended up having a good command of a modern-looking Bislama. Jacomb (1914:90–104) provides a short sketch of Bislama which is remarkably free of value judgements, and he paints a picture of a Bislama that contains little evidence of ridicule or manufactured data. Pionnier (1913), as indicated in Crowley (1993a), used Bislama over a period of six years in the 1890s, and most of his data is also consistent with forms in various varieties of modern Melanesian Pidgin.

Actual Bislama attestations appear in a variety of guises in the different primary sources cited. Sometimes, attestations take the form of straightforward statements about how to say a particular thing in Bislama, such as in the grammatical and lexical sketches of the language by Pionnier (1913) and Jacomb (1914). Other writers, however, have provided information only by quoting the words of ni-Vanuatu speaking Bislama, or of Europeans addressing ni-Vanuatu, such as the following:

Harrisson (1937): participated in the *Oxford Expedition to the New Hebrides* in 1933-34, with which he was attached as an ornithologist, and 1935, when he continued his research after the end of the expedition. He travelled widely around Santo and Malakula during this time.

Marshall (1937): participated in the *Oxford Expedition to the New Hebrides* in 1933-34, with which he was attached as an ornithologist. He was based mainly in the Sakao area of northern Santo.

These more recent sources contain fewer than fifty lexical attestations in addition to those present in earlier sources.

> He drained it with gusto, and, smacking his lips with the air of a connoisseur called out to the shepherd, "Here, missy, what name here (=quoi donc)! No plenty he stop. You fill him up back again. Me fellow love big-fellow-master-on-top (=le bon Dieu) altogether too much." (Fletcher 1923:73)

Other attestations are of only lexical items, or perhaps phrases, embedded within a sentence in English. Typically, the author's intention that a specifically Bislama usage is being quoted is clearly signalled by the use of quotation marks or italics for the Bislama material, for example: 'They have heard that there is a 'big fellow master belong government' who lives in a 'house calico' and does strange things with machines.' (Fletcher 1923:92). Other writers have sometimes more subtly disguised Bislama attestations, however, by directly using a Bislama item within an English context with no special marking, for example: '...It was Peter, one of our shoot-boys - and he proudly weighed in with a shilling!' (Marshall 1937:18)

While the Bislama status of **sutboi** 'paid marksman' is not explicitly signalled in this attestation (or any other of Marshall's many references to 'shoot-boys'), this is clearly not a standard English usage. The fact that this form was actually in use in Bislama at the time is further suggested by the occurrence of this form with the same meaning in the recorded lexicon of Tok Pisin (Mihalic 1971:187).

3. SCOPE OF THE PRE-WWI LEXICON

A number of writers have commented on the supposedly diminutive size of the lexicon of pre-First World War Bislama. The smallest estimates of the lexicon at this time were made by Speiser (1913a:13):

> I was, therefore, dependent on interpreters in "biche la mar," a language which contains hardly more than fifty words, and which is spoken on the plantations, but is quite useless for discussing any abstract subject.

Speiser (1913b:9) was also one of the sources for Mühlhäusler's (1979:182) claim about the lexically impoverished nature of pre-war Bislama. Of the Bislama lexicon of the same period, Jacomb (1914:91) was prepared to double Speiser's estimate, but he is still painting a picture of a lexically subminimal means of communication:

> Probably the vocabulary of the ordinary speaker of Pidgin-English consists of not many more than a hundred words, but those words are made to go a long way.

In Crowley (1990:178–186), I argue that Bislama in the late nineteenth century was lexically much richer than has been acknowledged by Mühlhäusler, who maintains that it was still a lexically minimal (or even sub-minimal) jargon. On the basis of cultural vocabulary of Bislama origin in the languages of the Loyalty Islands that was most likely borrowed in the 1870s and 1880s, I argued that the evidence was more consistent with claims by Clark (1987) that speakers of Bislama at that time probably commanded a much more substantial vocabulary than Mühlhäusler has been prepared to accept (Crowley 1990:73–85, 185–186). In Crowley (1993b), cultural borrowings attested from "South Seas Jargon" (perhaps better referred to as "Early Pacific Pidgin") before the 1860s have been examined from a wide range of languages. These borrowings provide evidence for an early cultural vocabulary of at least 250 items, which implies a significantly larger total lexicon for the language at the time. I feel that claims that there were Early Pacific Pidgin speakers operating with a fairly stable

lexicon of around 1000 items in the 1850s are quite plausible, despite Mühlhäusler's suggestions of an upper limit of around 300 items until very late in the nineteenth century (or, in the case of Bislama in Vanuatu, even until the First World War).

Despite Jacomb's claim that "the ordinary speaker" of Bislama used no more than 100 words, he conceded that those ni-Vanuatu who had more extensive contacts with Europeans had considerably larger vocabularies than this minimal vocabulary that he ascribed to the lexicon of people living away from the coasts:

> Natives who work as house servants naturally acquire rapidly a much larger vocabulary of names of common things than the mere "Man bush," as the native is called whose only dealings with white men have been during the course of visits paid to the local trader. (Jacomb 1914:99)

He also conceded that 'natives who work on ships in like manner acquire nautical phrases' (Jacomb 1914:99).

Jacomb gave no indication as to how extensive the vocabularies of these more experienced people might have been. One obvious point to be made, however, is that it would be unreasonable to take the minimal estimates of the size of the lexicon to represent the language as a whole. Even today, there are probably people living in the interior of Malakula who have similarly restricted lexicons, though it would be illogical to argue that we should base estimates of the size of the lexicon on their competence rather than on the competence of those living in the towns, who operate with a lexicon of several thousand items (and which is rapidly growing).

On *a priori* grounds, there is no reason to expect that the 500 or so items that are attested in the written record of Bislama in the period immediately prior to the First World War should represent anything more than some fraction of the total Bislama lexicon of the time, given that the actual length of the total Bislama text corpus is fairly restricted. Some of the compilers of the sources that I have utilised have explicitly made the point that their information is not intended to be comprehensive. Pionnier (1913:109, 184, 190, 192) repeatedly points out, for example, that the lists of words that he provides are those that were 'les plus usités' or those words 'qu'on emploie le plus souvent'. Jacomb's description likewise only aims to list those words that were most frequently encountered:

> The following short vocabulary contains the principal features and peculiarities of the language, together with explanations on the construction of sentences and pronunciation. The vocabulary does not pretend to be exhaustive. (Jacomb 1914:91)

What these writers appear to have been doing, in fact, was concentrating on words and constructions that the writers considered to be "strange" in some way. Many words that exhibited behaviour that was little different to words used in English were apparently ignored as being "obvious", despite the fact that they were just as much part of the language.

The likelihood that there are significant gaps in the attested lexicon is indicated by the presence of a number of obvious missing items. The word **sidaun** 'sit' is attested, yet there is no attestation from the same period of a word for 'stand'. Given the occurrence of **stanap** in both modern Bislama and Solomons Pijin, and **sanap** in Tok Pisin, it is highly likely that a similar form was in use in Bislama prior to the First World War. Similarly, while **antap** 'above' and **insaid** 'inside' are attested, modern **aninit** 'underneath' and **ausaid** 'outside' are not. Terms for some basic body functions such as modern **pispis** 'urinate' are absent in the written record, almost certainly not because the words were absent, but simply because

these kinds of topics were avoided altogether in the written sources. The occurrence of **pispis**, for example, in all three modern varieties of Melanesian Pidgin suggests that it must have had early currency.

The fact that the items in the list below fall almost exclusively within the range of core vocabulary also suggests that the written record contains significant gaps with respect to cultural items. There are 240-odd borrowings into Pacific vernaculars from Early Pacific Pidgin presented in Crowley (1993b) which fall almost exclusively in the domain of cultural vocabulary. In Crowley (1990:178–186), I argue that there was probably other non-core vocabulary in use in Bislama by the end of the nineteenth century, some of which had been directly incorporated from vernaculars, and some of which involved productive morphological derivation. For instance, Davillé (1895:54) records the modern form **navele** '*Barringtonia edulis*' in the early 1890s, and it is difficult to imagine that this was the only tree species to have been named in Bislama by this time. Thus, there are almost 800 items for which there is direct evidence of one kind or another of their having been used by speakers of Pacific Pidgin in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, and we can probably safely assume that the actual number of words in use was somewhat higher than this.

4. WRITTEN ATTESTATIONS

The data that follow represent a detailed listing of all lexical items attested in the published record of Bislama based on contact with the language during the 1890s till the end of the First World War. Items are listed alphabetically under a phonological shape that is deduced either from evidence provided by the primary sources, or from the shape of the same word in modern varieties of Melanesian Pidgin. Each item is listed with its published attestations, along with a reference to the source of the attestation. (However, for very commonly attested items, only a representative sample of attestations from each source is provided.)

I have also included annotations for many entries, commenting on the status of particular attested forms. Forms which have not been maintained in modern Bislama, or which are now regarded as archaisms are noted, as are forms which were apparently used in Bislama prior to the First World War but which have been maintained only in other varieties of Melanesian Pidgin. Forms lacking annotations can generally be assumed to have been retained in modern Bislama with more or less their original shape and meaning.

ABBREVIATIONS

The following list of abbreviations is complete, and the meanings of each are as indicated:

adj	adjective	postmod	postmodifier
adv	adverb	predmrkr	predicate marker
aux	auxiliary	premod	premodifier
comp	complementiser	prep	preposition
conj	conjunction	pron	pronoun
int	interjection	rel	relative clause marker
inter	interrogative	sub	subordinator
intr	intransitive verb	tr	transitive verb
n	noun		

LAYOUT OF ENTRIES

Headword (part of speech) meaning. [source of earliest citations] *text of original citation (in italics).* [sources of later citations]. *text of citations (in italics).* (Note that the use of capitals and punctuation in cited text follows the practice in the original source and has no particular significance in these entries. Any italicised additional comments of a linguistic or cultural nature are also part of the original citation.). Idiomatic usage. meaning of idiom. Sometimes an additional comment by the author (of a linguistic or cultural nature) immediately follows the citations.

afta (prep) after. [Pionnier 1913:111] *Ouane clok after tina.*

aftumora (adv) day after tomorrow. [Pionnier1913:111] *APRES DEMAIN:* Af tou morô (mora). Rare in modern Bislama, which usually has **aftatumora**. However, **haptumora** is found in Tok Pisin.

ai (n) eye. [Pionnier 1913:113] *OEIL, YEUX:* Aè. [Jacomb 1914:103] *Ey pronounced high.*

ailan (n) island. [Pionnier 1913:192] *DANS TOUS LES PAYS:* Olfriaïlend.

akis (n) axe. [Johnson 1921:48] *You go along Mary (woman) belong Master catchem one fellow something he brather belong ackus (axe), pullem he come, pushem he go.* [Alexander 1927:214] *Master 'e catch 'im one feller ackis [axe]* ... [Baker 1929:16-17] *One is the description of a saw as "brother belong akus [axe]; pull 'im 'e come, push 'im 'e go".* [Marshall 1937:7] ... *A saw (to quote a classical example) is "brother blong akus"* ...

ale (int) OK then. [Jacomb 1914:102] *Allez! you come quick.* [Fletcher 1923:329] *'Im 'e look Mis Collins. Allez; 'em 'e races 'e go down long salt-water.* [Jacomb 1929:30] *Byambye im e speak allez me feller go.*

angka (n) anchor. [Jacomb 1914:101] *"Kai-kai anchor"; Hoist anchor.*

antap (adv) above, high up. [Pionnier 1913:193] *I stap onetap Big fala Masta.* [Jacomb 1914:102] *'Im 'e stop on top; me stop down.* [Marshall 1937:13] ... *He controls a compact village "on top", has killed two or three men and is altogether a person of importance in Sakau.*

ara (n) arrow. [Pionnier 1913:114] *FLECHE:* Ara.

aranis (n) orange. [Pionnier 1913:116] *ORANGE:* Oranige.

asis (n) ashes. [Pionnier 1913:115] *CENDRE:* Assice faïa.

askim (tr) ask. [Jacomb 1914:96] *ASK.- To ask.*

ating (adv) probably. [Fletcher 1923:195] *I tink you like place where you been stop before.* [Marshall 1937:57] *"I think me callim* Neto," *he said.*

aua (int) expression of derision. [Jacomb 1914:102] *AH WAH! - An exclamation expressing derision.* A range of such expressions can be found in modern Bislama, probably depending on what is current in a speaker's vernacular.

bagarap (intr) 1. broken down. [Marshall 1937:7] *Anything which breaks or becomes useless is "bugger-up finish"* ... 2. used up. [Marshall 1937:7] *Kerosene blong Jesus*

Christ 'e bugger-up finish! Only used in the first sense in modern Bislama, and then fairly rarely. Commonly used in this sense in Tok Pisin.

bakegen (adv) again. [Jacomb 1914:102] *Me me sign back again.* [Fletcher 1923:329] *'Im 'e sing out "You wait. Byumby tu-morrer me come talk long you back again. You one --- too."* [Harrisson 1937:145] ... *'E good, you give 'im one something along belly belong you me, allsame belly belong you me, 'e no sing out back again.*

baksaid (n) 1. back. [Marshall 1937:71] *Big-fella all-same bullamacow, 'im 'e no savvy drown: swim all-same dog, more (and) back-side, b'long 'im all-same pineapple," is how they describe the great old-man saurian of the Yora.* 2. buttocks. [Marshall 1937:300] ... *'Im 'em call 'im me one* 'mission bastard', *more (and) talk strong 'long kick 'im back-side b'long me-fella!*

bambai (adv) future. [Pionnier 1913:111] *BIENTOT:* Banbaïlle. [Speiser 1913:78] *Bim by you me catch him.* [Jacomb 1914:92] *Bye and bye me go.* [Johnson 1921:186] *By-em-by me die, by-em-by me die.* [Fletcher 1923:329] *'Im 'e sing out "You wait. Byumby tu-morrer me come talk long you back again. You one --- too."* [Alexander 1927:214] *By'n by Kong-Kong [Chinaman] 'e fas'in rope along bokkis you fight 'im 'e sing out ...* [Baker 1929:21] *By and by you kill him finish?*

banana (n) banana. [Pionnier 1913:117] *BANANE:* Banana. [Marshall 1937:77] *Sorrowfully, the little missionary led his flock back to the intricacies of ... "three-fella coconuts more (=and) two-fella banana 'e savvy makim five-fella altogether."*

banara (n) bow. [Pionnier 1913:114] *ARC:* Banara.

banis (n) 1. fence. [Pionnier 1913:117] *BARRIERE:* Baniche. 2. yard. [Alexander 1927:214] ... *Now me take 'im finish long banis [house] belong master.*

basted (n) bastard. [Marshall 1937:300] ... *'Im 'em call 'im me one* 'mission bastard', *more (and) talk strong 'long kick 'im back-side b'long me-fella!*

bel[1] (n) bell. [Johnson 1921:170] *A great simple black ... would go off with ... a collection of cheap mirrors and beads ... all in a shiny new "bokkus b'long bell."*

bel[2] (n) belly, spirit. [Pionnier 1913:109] Bèle, *ventre.* [Pionnier 1913:193] *When sikine bilong hèm i dèd, bèl bilong hème i go onetap, goud plèce long Big fala Masta ...* [Titayna and Lugeon 1931:31] *Violin: "Smolsistere blanbigfallabokis blanwetman spose scrachbele icry ..."*

beli (n) belly. [Jacomb 1914:98] *Belly belong me he sore.* [Fletcher 1923:330] *'Im 'e sit down longa belly b'long Harry.* [Johnson 1921:15] *My word! Master! Belly belong me walk about too much!* [Marshall 1937:83] ... *Devil, 'im 'e stop 'long belly b'long man* ...; [Harrisson 1937:145] I am hungry: *belly belong me feller 'e sing out ...* **Beli** is attested rarely in modern Bislama, but the usual form is **bel**. **Bele** is common in Solomons Pijin.

bifo (adv) in former times. [Pionnier 1913:198] *You fraïlle naou ol tigne you mèkèm i no goud bifore.* [Jacomb 1914:92] *Before me go one time.* [Fletcher 1923:328] *You stop where beefore?* [Baker 1929:137] *Before, me go along Lake; me catch 'im all small something.* [Marshall 1937:93] *But the man with "big-leg" offered to show me how it was always done "before"* ... [Marshall 1937:244] *Before you kill 'im dead-finish pidgin* [sic] *b'long me!*

big (adj) big. [Jacomb 1914:98] *BIG.- Big.*

bigfala (adj) big, fat, important. [Pionnier 1913:185] *GRAS:* Big fala. [Pionnier 1913:193] *I stap onetap Big fala Masta.* [Jacomb 1914:99] ... *'E stop 'long big feller bokis close up long window.* [Johnson 1921:123] ... *One of the boys ran up to me and told me ... that he had seen "plenty big fellow man along bush...* [Fletcher 1923:92] *They have heard that there is a 'big fellow master belong gevernment' who lives in a 'house calico' and does strange things with machines.* [Alexander 1927:214] *Master 'e speak, 'Now you sickis [six] feller you go along big feller boat ...* [Baker 1929:17] *One big fella bokus [box], 'e got tooth; time master 'e fight 'him, 'e sing out.* [Baker 1929:137] *Two big fella 'e take 'im boat.* [Titayna and Lugeon 1931:31] *Piano: "Bigfallabokis blanwetman i sinout ..."* [Marshall 1937:71] *Big-fella all-same bullamacow, 'im 'e no savvy drown: swim all-same dog, more (and) back-side, b'long 'im all-same pineapple," is how they describe the great old-man saurian of the Yora.*

bigleg (n) filariasis. [Marshall 1937:85] ... *I learned that everyone was perfectly fit except one man who had contracted "big-leg" (filariasis) whilst working for a planter on the coast.*

bihain (adj) afterwards. [Pionnier 1913:192] *DERRIERE:* Biaïne. [Jacomb 1914:102] *Man 'ere 'e come first time, me me come be'ind.*

bij (n) beach. [Fletcher 1923:329] *'E got big-feller sea long beach.* Now invariably **sanbij** in modern Bislama. **San** (but not **bij**) survives residually in modern Bislama in **blaksan**, **bigsan** and **waitsan**, and in Tok Pisin **wesan**, while **bij** possibly survives as **-bis** in Tok Pisin **nambis**.

bin (aux) past. [Fletcher 1923:326] *Which way you no bin tell 'im out?* [Jacomb 1929:30] *Commandan' belong me feller been go kai kai long ouse belong one feller master.* [Marshall 1937:53] ... *Peter excused his late coming with the plea that he had "bin 'long church - 'long God!"* [Marshall 1937:300] *Me bin speak 'long 'im before!* [Marshall 1937:316] *Mast' 'e been spoil'em (infected) me.*

Bislama (n) Pidgin. [Speiser 1913:13] *I was, therefore, dependent on interpreters in "biche la mar," a language which contains hardly more than fifty words, and which is spoken on the plantations, but is quite useless for discussing any abstract subject.* [Johnson 1921:12] *Though he could speak many native languages, his English was limited to* bêche-de-mer, *the pidgin English of the South Seas.* [Marshall 1937:243] *The vehicle of expression will be preferably French, failing that,* "bêche-la-mer"*; or if you don't speak either the* Père *will convey impressions to you with a Latin wealth of gestures which leaves little indeed to be said.*

bisnis (n) affair, matter. [Fletcher 1923:219] *S'pose Jack 'e no wanta work, all right; 'im 'e business b'long Jack.* [Marshall 1937:299] *A third "business b'long Sedhi" concerned Tavanun, a Sakau who worked on a near-by plantation.*

blad (n) blood. [Pionnier 1913:195] *I kapsaïll blad bilong him bilong you mi.* [Fletcher 1923:330] *All blood b'long 'im 'e fall down.*

blak (adj) black. [Jacomb 1914:99] ... *'Im 'e black...* [Fletcher 1923:327] *'Im 'e black.* [Harrisson 1937:145] *Blak e fite, white e frite ...*

blakfala (adj) black. [Harrisson 1937:145] Piano: *boxis where man 'e fight 'im white more black feller something along face belong 'im, belly belong 'im 'im 'e talktalk too much, 'e tell 'im out good feller talk.*

blari (int) bloody. [Fletcher 1923:329] *You come ashore; me fight 'im bloody face b'long you.*

blo (intr) blow. [Pionnier 1913:111] *Ouine i flo.*

blong (prep) 1. possessive. [Pionnier 1913:109] *Mi ouashème hèd bilong you.* [Jacomb 1914:93] *Altogether man 'e look 'im arm belong 'im 'e sore: 'e stop.* [Johnson 1921:15] *My word! Master! Belly belong me walk about too much!* [Alexander 1927:214] ... *Skin belong 'im allersame [colour] belong me feller.* [Baker 1929:17] *Face belong 'im 'e* good *fellow too much.* [Marshall 1937:7] *A flower or seed is "piccaninny (child) blong tree"* ... (comp) 2. purposive. [Pionnier 1913:185] *Goud bilong louk.* [Jacomb 1914:99] *'Im 'e belong make mark 'long paper...* [Baker 1929:21] *Belong catch 'im fish?* [Marshall 1937:7] *A grappling-iron I once heard described as "one-fella something blong scratch 'im bottom blong saltwater."* Harrison (1937:146] *Might you me find 'im one place belong sleep along road.* (sub) 3. because. [Baker 1929:21] *"Belong dog 'e no sing out." (Because my dog doesn't bark).*

bluflaua (n) blue rat's tail. (*Stachytarpheta urticifolia*) [Marshall 1937:45] *"Blueflower" is another imported pest. It is a rank shrub which has swamped the near-by plantation, destroying the pasture-lands, encroaching on the cleared mission property and rapidly overrunning our camp site.*

bluwota (n) deep round tidal inland waterhole. [Marshall 1937:114] *Before we passed the bluewater I was satisfied he was the slowest* ... Now known as **bluhol**.

boi (n) 1. labourer. [Jacomb 1914:95] *Master 'e kill 'im boy long 'and all time.* [Marshall 1937:149] *Boy 'e like spik 'long God.* 2. Melanesian. [Jacomb 1914:93] *What name boy 'e make?* [Johnson 1921:54] *Altogether boy he speak* ... [Fletcher 1923:326] *'Im 'e bin killa one boy.*

boil (intr) boil. [Fletcher 1924:166] *You, you look out water 'e boil good.*

bokis (n) box, coffin. [Pionnier 1913:115] *BOITE:* Bokis. [Jacomb 1914:99] ... *'E stop 'long big feller bokis close up long window.* [Johnson 1921:171] ... *A delegation ... appeared and said they had come for "big-fellow-bokkus (box)."* [Alexander 1927:213] *A box is a "bokkis"* ... [Baker 1929:17] *One big fella bokus [box], 'e got tooth; time master 'e fight 'him, 'e sing out.* [Titayna and Lugeon 1931:31] *Piano: "Bigfallabokis blanwetman i sinout ..."* [Harrisson 1937:145] Piano: *boxis where man 'e fight 'im white more black feller something along face belong 'im, belly belong 'im 'im 'e talktalk too much, 'e tell 'im out good feller talk.*

bokis miusik (n) record player. [Marshall 1937:70] ... *We managed that night to extract a tune from the "bokis music."* Now expressed as **pikap**. It is possible that this item was construed by Marshall to convey humour.

boled (adj) bald. [Fletcher 1923:195] *Im 'e bald'ed all same you* ...

bolet (n) bullet. [Fletcher 1923:331] *Bullet 'e catch 'im jack long belly b'long 'im.*

bonem (tr) burn. [Fletcher 1923:254] *Bald'ed, you sabby Koumala ... where me cook 'im long you me burn 'im?*

bosboi (n) Melanesian overseer. [Fletcher 1923:161] *There was a big dance and kaikai last night to celebrate the wedding of my boss-boy* ... Now seldom used in Bislama. Also attested in Tok Pisin.

bot (n) boat. [Pionnier 1913:114] *BALEINIERE:* Bôt. [Jacomb 1914:97] *Boat 'e fas' long reef.* [Fletcher 1923:326] *No, two feller 'e go longa boat long all boy?* [Alexander 1927:214] *Master 'e speak, 'Now you sickis [six] feller you go along big feller boat* ... [Baker 1929:137] *Two big fella 'e take 'im boat.*

botel (n) bottle. [Pionnier 1913:115] *BOUTEILLE:* Botèle.

botom (n) bottom. [Marshall 1937:7] *A grappling-iron I once heard described as "one-fella something blong scratch 'im bottom blong saltwater."*

brata (n) 1. brother. [Pionnier 1912:112] *FRERE:* Brata. [Fletcher 1923:326] *Brother b'long you?* 2. similar kind of thing. [Johnson 1921:48] *You go along Mary (woman) belong Master catchem one fellow something he brather belong ackus (axe), pullem he come, pushem he go.* [Alexander 1927:215] *Another boy described a saw as follows: ... brother belong tommyhawk.* [Baker 1929:16-17] *One is the description of a saw as "brother belong akus [axe]; pull 'im 'e come, push 'im 'e go".* [Marshall 1937:104] ... *This bird is a "brother b'long" the lorikeets of Australia* ...

bred (n) bread. [Pionnier 1913:116] *Haf brède.*

brekim (tr) break. [Jacomb 1914:95] *Me me break 'im.*

brok (intr) break, broken. [Pionnier 1913:185] *I brok.* [Jacomb 1914:95] *'Im 'e broke.* [Fletcher 1923:331] *Face b'long 'im 'e broke no more.*

bubu (n) 1. conch shell. [Johnson 1921:74] *The natives called them boo-boos - the name given to conch-shells and all other sound-making instruments.* [Marshall 1937:282] *At midday you'll hear the overseer order a boy to* "make 'im bu-bu," *and with thick lips pressed to a hole in a conch-shell the native will send the welcome message booming to the labourers.* 2. work siren. [Fletcher 1924:40] ... *boubou b'long work 'e finish* ...

bulmakau (n) 1. cow, cattle. [Jacomb 1914:101] *BULAMAKOW.- (a) An ox or a cow; (b) beef.* [Marshall 1937:71] *Big-fella all-same bullamacow, 'im 'e no savvy drown: swim all-same dog, more (and) back-side, b'long 'im all-same pineapple," is how they describe the great old-man saurian of the Yora.* 2. beef. [Jacomb 1914:101] *BULAMAKOW.- (a) An ox or a cow; (b) beef.* Archaic, normally expressed in modern Bislama as **buluk**. Attested also in Tok Pisin and Solomons Pijin.

buluk (n) cow, cattle. [Pionnier 1913:115] *BOEUF:* Boulouk.

bus (n) bush. [Johnson 1921:123] ... *One of the boys ran up to me and told me ... that he had seen "plenty big fellow man along bush..."* [Fletcher 1923:150] *She had come round on foot, braving the four hour walk, and all the devils that 'steal 'im-woman 'long bush' in order to make my coffee that morning.* [Marshall 1937:246] *"Something b'long bush," he told me, was used by the natives to convert their wool from a jet-black to an alluring auburn.*

busong (n) cork. [Baker 1929:16] *The vocabulary is based on English words with the exceptions of* kai-kai ... *and* bouchon *(= cork, from French).*

but (n) boots. [Pionnier 1913:113] *SOULIERS:* Bout.

dai (intr) die, dead. [Johnson 1921:53] *Master, ... me lookum some fellow man he die finish.* [Marshall 1937:278] *Spose* M. le Commissaire *'e die finish. 'Im 'e goodfella?* Now replaced by **ded**, but **dai** is retained in Tok Pisin and Solomons Pijin.

dak[1] (adj) dark. [Harrisson 1937:146] *Might you me go go go go long road where 'e dark too much.*

dak[2] (n) duck. [Pionnier 1913:113] *CANARD:* Dak. Now **dakdak** in Bislama. However, the languages of the Loyalties have borrowed this word from an earlier form **dak**.

dakita (n) doctor. [Jacomb 1914:103] *Doctor pronounced ta-ke-ter.* [Fletcher 1923:333] *Finish, 'im 'e send 'im Jack 'e go Vila longa Dokkitor long lannitch b'long Lizzy.* **Dokita** is attested as an occasional archaic variant in modern Bislama, which is also the shape of the word that was borrowed in the Loyalties.

daknes (n) paganism. [Jacomb 1914:98] *Me me missionary: nother feller man 'ere 'e man belong darkness.* [Marshall 1937:27] *Already the mission boys were scooping a hole for the "fella blong darkness"* ... [Marshall 1937:320] ... *None of the Presbyterians should degrade themselves or their kirk by participation in a "danis b'long man b'long darkness."* [Harrisson 1937:170] *It is sad that the missionaries invented for the heathen the caption "Man belong darkness", for their Tagaro was a God of Light.*

danis (n) dance. [Marshall 1937:88] *"Jemis" said to me "man 'e like makim sing-sing" and asked if I'd like to witness a "danis".*

danmait (n) dynamite. [Baker 1929:21] *What name you want 'im dynamite?*

datfala (premod) that. [Jacomb 1914:95] *What name that feller something man 'e fight 'im 'e sing out?* Not attested in modern Bislama, which uses instead the postmodifier **ia**. Found in Solomons Pijin.

daun (adv) below, beneath. [Pionnier 1913:109] Daoune long faïa, *en bas dans feu.* [Jacomb 1914:102] *'Im 'e stop on top; me stop down.*

de (n) day. [Baker 1929:137] *Three white man here, 'e want stop seven days along Lake.* [Marshall 1937:254] ... *It would be "day b'long* nemalap[3] *" ("flying-fox") in a day or two.*

ded (intr) 1. die, dead. [Marshall 1937:7] ... *To "kill" is merely to strike, but to "kill 'im dead finish" is to slay something as in the correct usage of the word.* 2. sick. [Jacomb 1914:98] *A native would say "Master 'e kill 'im me strong feller: me dead," meaning, My master beat me severely, and I felt very sore and ill afterwards.* [Harrisson 1937:320] *In pidgin English dead means sick, and when a man is dead in our sense, in pidgin English he is "dead finish".* 3. unconscious. [Fletcher 1923:326] *'Im 'e* kill 'im dead finish? *No. 'Im 'e no dead no more. 'Im 'e no dead finish.* 4. go out. [Pionnier 1913:117] *Faïa bilong you i dède.* [Harrisson 1937:146] *Might you me catch 'im quick time. Might sun 'e dead along road.*

devel (n) devil. [Pionnier 1913:109] *DIABLE, DEMON:* Devèl. [Marshall 1937:83] *The mountainmen told me that "one man n'more (only)" from each of the old villages was possessed of a "devil" which had the power to venture forth and kill other men.*

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3 **Nemalap** is cited in this source as a vernacular word rather than a Bislama word.

develdevel (n) graven image. [Johnson 1921:63] *The three savages ... were almost ready to kow-tow to us, as they did to their devil-devils in the bush.* [Fletcher 1923:58] *Me think white man he all same devil-devil.* The reduplicated form is not attested in any other variety of Bislama. It is possible that this is a European fabrication as the only source in which it occurs frequently is Johnson, who is not always reliable. Fletcher was generally reliable, but the reduplicated form is attested from the earlier period in his journal when he did include some erroneous information.

dina (n) lunchtime, midday. [Pionnier 1913:111] *Ouane clok after tina.*

dinggi (n) dinghy. [Fletcher 1923:329] *Longa Friday Mis Collins 'e come longa Tahi longa dinghey.*

disfala (pron) this. [Jacomb 1914:94] *Me learn 'im you make 'im this feller.* Not common in modern Bislama, and when it does occur, we cannot rule out the possibility of direct borrowing from English. However, **dispela** is widespread in Tok Pisin, as is **disfala** in Solomons Pijin, indicating that this form probably does have a long history.

do (n) door. [Pionnier 1913:191] *Sarème dore.*

dog (n) dog. [Pionnier 1913:193] *You savé man no ol sème dog ...* [Baker 1929:21] *"Belong dog 'e no sing out." (Because my dog doesn't bark).* [Marshall 1937:71] *Big-fella all-same bullamacow, 'im 'e no savvy drown: swim all-same dog, more (and) back-side, b'long 'im all-same pineapple," is how they describe the great old-man saurian of the Yora.*

dola (n) dollar. [Pionnier 1913:114] *cinq francs,* Dolar.

doti (adj) dirty. [Fletcher 1923:195] *You tink 'e all same b'long dirty boy?*

drai (adj) dry, low (of tide). [Pionnier 1913:110] *Solouara i traïlle.*

draun (intr) drown, sink. [Jacomb 1914:96] *Ship 'e drown finish.* [Fletcher 1923:330] *Close up 'im 'e derrown.* [Marshall 1937:71] *Big-fella all-same bullamacow, 'im 'e no savvy drown: swim all-same dog, more (and) back-side, b'long 'im all-same pineapple," is how they describe the great old-man saurian of the Yora.*

dring (tr) 1. drink. [Jacomb 1914:95] *DRINK.- To drink.* [Fletcher 1924:121] *'Im 'e sleep finish time two-feller 'e no derrink grog yet.* (intr) 2. drink. [Pionnier 1913:190] *BOIRE:* Drink. [Jacomb 1914:95] *DRINK.- To drink.*

dring solwota drown. [Jacomb 1914:100] *"'Im 'e drink salt water finish." He was drowned.*

drong (adj) drunk. [Jacomb 1914:103] *Drunk pronounced tronk.* [Fletcher 1923:329] *'Im 'e derronk.*

e (int) hey. [Jacomb 1914:102] *EH !- An exclamation to attract attention before commencing a sentence.*

eg (n) egg. [Marshall 1937:20] *Thus the natives found "house more (and) h'egg blong pidgin" a source of easy revenue ...*

enggis (n) egg. [Pionnier 1913:116] *OEUF:* En'guis. Now replaced entirely by **eg** in modern Bislama and Solomons Pijin. Tok Pisin has **kiau**.

et (adj) eight. [Pionnier 1913:187] *HUIT, 8:* Haïte.

evri (premod) every. [Pionnier 1913:192] *DANS TOUS LES PAYS:* Olfriaïlend. Given the occurrence of **evri** in modern Bislama, Pionnier's initial syllable would appear to be some kind of mistake.

faia (n) fire. [Pionnier 1913:194] *Big fala Masta i koukime bèl bilong hèm long faia, long ol taïme no finish.*

faiawud (n) firewood. [Fletcher 1924:167] *Me no gotta firewood.*

faif (adj) five. [Pionnier 1913:187] *CINQ, 5:* Faïve.

faifala (adj) five. [Marshall 1937:77] *Sorrowfully, the little missionary led his flock back to the intricacies of ... "three-fella coconuts more (=and) two-fella banana 'e savvy makim five-fella altogether."*

fainim (tr) find. [Harrisson 1937:146] *Might you me find 'im one place belong sleep along road.*

fait (intr) fight. [Fletcher 1923:331] *Four feller more dog b'long Harry 'e fight.*

faitim (tr) 1. strike, beat, hit, punch. [Pionnier 1913:191] *FRAPPER:* Faïtim. [Jacomb 1914:95] *Man 'e fight 'im one nail long 'ammer.* [Fletcher 1923:329] *You come ashore; me fight 'im bloody face b'long you.* [Alexander 1927:213] ... *A piano is "bokkis you fight 'im 'e sing out ...* [Baker 1929:17] *One big fella bokus [box], 'e got tooth; time master 'e fight 'him, 'e sing out.* [Harrisson 1937:145] Piano: *boxis where man 'e fight 'im white more black feller something along face belong 'im, belly belong 'im 'im 'e talktalk too much, 'e tell 'im out good feller talk.* 2. fight against. [Harrisson 1937:328] *You feller go go go, fight 'im white man finish.*

fala (n) person. [Marshall 1937:27] *Already the mission boys were scooping a hole for the "fella blong darkness"* ... A small number of attestations point to **fala** being used in the early twentieth century as a noun. I have my doubts about these examples, and suggest that Europeans may have misinterpreted this form.

fas (intr) stuck. [Jacomb 1914:97] *Boat 'e fas' long reef.*

fasim (tr) tie. [Alexander 1927:214] *By'n by Kong-Kong [Chinaman] 'e fas'in rope along bokkis you fight 'im 'e sing out ...*

fasin (n) way, manner. [Fletcher 1923:239] *Fashion b'long me feller, papa 'e look out piccaninny where 'e man, piccaninny where 'e woman 'e b'long mamma* ... [Marshall 1937:36] *That is "fashion b'long native" in Santo.*

fastaim (adv) previously, first. [Pionnier 1913:187] *Le premier,* pastaïme. [Jacomb 1914:102] *Man 'ere 'e come first time, me me come be'ind.*

fat (adj) fat. [Fletcher 1923:195] *My word! You you fat too much.* Now normally reduplicated as **fatfat**. Unreduplicated **fat** generally means only 'fart'.

faul (n) chicken. [Pionnier 1913:113] *POULE:* Paoule. [Jacomb 1914:100] *"Grass belong fowl"; A fowl's feathers.* [Fletcher 1923:256] *'One pig-pig more one fowl where 'e man' were sacrificed.*

fenis (n) fence. [Jacomb 1914:103] *Fence pronounced fenys.*

fes (n) face, front. [Fletcher 1923:329] *You come ashore; me fight 'im bloody face b'long you.* [Baker 1929:17] *Face belong 'im 'e* good *fellow too much.* [Harrisson 1937:145]

Piano: *boxis where man 'e fight 'im white more black feller something along face belong 'im, belly belong 'im 'im 'e talktalk too much, 'e tell 'im out good feller talk.*

finis (postmod) 1. completive aspect. [Pionnier 1913:189] *Olguita go finish.* [Jacomb 1914:92] *Me go finish.* [Johnson 1921:53] *Master, ... me lookum some fellow man he die finish.* [Fletcher 1923:326] *Two feller 'e go Vila finish.* [Baker 1929:21] *By and by you kill him finish?* [Marshall 1937:7] ... *To "kill" is merely to strike, but to "kill 'im dead finish" is to slay something as in the correct usage of the word.* (intr) 2. finish. [Pionnier 1913:112] *Rène i finish.* [Jacomb 1914:95] *FINISH.- To finish.* [Marshall 1937:270] *One week - 'e finish.*

fingga (n) finger. [Pionnier 1913:112] *DOIGTS:* Fineguers. [Fletcher 1923:331] *'Im 'e want pull 'im out heye belong Mis Collins longa finger b'long 'im.*

fis (n) fish. [Pionnier 1913:110] *LES POISSONS:* Fiche. [Jacomb 1914:103] *Fish pronounced fis.* [Fletcher 1924:154] *Monday catcha one good-feller fish for you.* [Baker 1929:21] *Belong catch 'im fish?*

fiva (intr) run a fever. [Pionnier 1912:112] *FIEVRE:* Fiver. [Jacomb 1914:100] *Me fever.* [Fletcher 1923:129] *Me pever master.*

flai (n) fly. [Pionnier 1913:113] *MOUCHE:* Flaïlle.

flas (adj) 1. decorated, smart (in appearance). [Jacomb 1914:98] *FLASH.- (a) Smart ...* [Fletcher 1923:38] *Oh, no, master, me fellow altogether flash more when we have calico (clothes) belong white man.* 2. show off. [Jacomb 1914:98] *FLASH.- ... (b) bumptious, or arrogant*

fo (adj) four. [Pionnier 1913:187] *QUATRE, 4:* For. [Fletcher 1923:328] *Four moon 'e go finish now.*

fofala (adj) four. [Fletcher 1923:331] *Four feller more dog b'long Harry 'e fight.*

fok (n) fork. [Pionnier 1913:116] *FOURCHETTE:* Forke.

foldaun (intr) fall. [Fletcher 1923:330] *All blood b'long 'im 'e fall down.* [Harrisson 1937:145] *Pull 'im 'e come, push 'im 'e go; wood 'e fall down.*

frai (tr) fear. [Pionnier 1913:198] *You fraïlle naou ol tigne you mèkèm i no goud bifore.* All varieties of modern Melanesian Pidgin point to an original final **-t** in this form, though Pionnier consistently uses **frai** as a transitive verb. Modern Bislama would have **fraet long**, while modern Tok Pisin has **poretim** for this meaning.

fraipan (n) frying pan. [Pionnier 1913:116] *POELE:* Brabane.

Fraire (n) Friday. [Pionnier 1913:111] *VENDREDI:* Forarailleray. [Fletcher 1923:329] *Longa Friday Mis Collins 'e come longa Tahi longa dinghey.*

frait (intr) afraid, frightened. [Pionnier 1913:195] *You no fraid!* [Johnson 1921:41] ... *My word! Suppose fifty men he come, me no fright.* [Fletcher 1923:329] *'Im 'e fright long Harry?* [Marshall 1937:97] ... *Others, more honest, freely admitted "me-fella fright plenty too-much"* ... [Harrisson 1937:145] *Blak e fite, white e frite ...*

Franis (n) French. [Fletcher 1923:328] *Me no sabby talk Frennich.* [Jacomb 1929:30] *Me belong Frenchis polis.*

fri (adj) non-indentured. [Jacomb 1914:97] *FREE.- Non-indentured.*

frut (n) fruit. [Pionnier 1913:185] *Frout rap.*

fulap (adj) full. [Jacomb 1929:30] *Me feller look look, me feller look tin e ful up.*

fulumap (tr) fill up. [Fletcher 1923:73] *You fill him up back again.*

fut (n) foot. [Jacomb 1914:96] *Nail 'e stick in foot belong me.* More commonly expressed in Bislama today as **leg**, but **sofut** does retain earlier **fut** residually.

garen (n) garden. [Pionnier 1913:117] *JARDIN:* Carène.

gat (tr) have. [Pionnier 1913:112] *I got ouine.* [Jacomb 1914:96] *'E no got.* [Baker 1929:17] *One big fella bokus [box], 'e got tooth; time master 'e fight 'him, 'e sing out.* [Harrisson 1937:145] *Black e got wod, e got wod ...*

gavman (n) government. [Fletcher 1923:92] *They have heard that there is a 'big fellow master belong gevernment' who lives in a 'house calico' and does strange things with machines.* [Marshall 1937:31] *If anything was necessary to aggravate the position and increase the Sakau's contempt for the "Govmint" it was this futile procedure.*

gel (n) girl. [Pionnier 1912:112] *FILLE:* Kèle.

giaman (intr) lie. [Pionnier 1913:185] *I kiamane.* [Jacomb 1914:94] *GAMMON. - To deceive, not necessarily in a bad sense.* [Harrisson 1937:145] *A few words are French (savvy), some archaic English (gammon).*

givan (intr) help. [Fletcher 1923:330] *You, you no give hand long Harry?*

givim (tr) give. [Pionnier 1913:191] *DONNER:* Guire (give). [Harrisson 1937:145] ... *'E good, you give 'im one something along belly belong you me, allsame belly belong you me, 'e no sing out back again.*

glas (n) (drinking) glass. [Pionnier 1913:116] *VERRE:* Glasse.

go (intr) go. [Pionnier 1913:188] *You mi tri fala go.* [Speiser 1913:122–123] *"Well, me, me go." They answer, "All right, you go."* [Jacomb 1914:92] *Might me go.* [Johnson 1921:48] *You go along Mary (woman) belong Master catchem one fellow something he brather belong ackus (axe), pullem he come, pushem he go.* [Baker 1929:16-17] *One is the description of a saw as "brother belong akus [axe]; pull 'im 'e come, push 'im 'e go".* [Marshall 1937:247] *Altogether man long time before 'e go finish.* [Harrisson 1937:145] ... *Belly belong me feller 'e sing out, 'e 'ear 'em no good, 'e want 'im kaikai 'e go 'long 'im.*

God (n) God. [Pionnier 1913:194] *Nème long Big fala Masta ia God.* [Marshall 1937:53] ... *Peter excused his late coming with the plea that he had "bin 'long church - 'long God!"*

godaun (intr) go down. [Pionnier 1913:110] *Solouara i go daoune.* [Fletcher 1923:329] *'Im 'e look Mis Collins. Allez; 'em 'e races 'e go down long salt-water.*

goraun (intr) go around. [Pionnier 1913:192] *Igoraoune.*

graun (n) ground, soil. [Pionnier 1913:193] *I mèkèm ol tigne: Claound, Sane, Moune, Solouara, graoun* ... [Johnson 1921:54] *Me think more better you no put him along ground.* [Fletcher 1923:332] *Jack 'e stop long ground?* [Titayna and Lugeon 1931:31] *Automobile ... "Lanich blang grand ..."*

gras (n) 1. grass. [Jacomb 1914:100] *GRASS.- ... Grass of all sorts, including reeds, rushes, salas, etc* ... 2. hair. [Pionnier 1913:112] *CHEVEUX:* Crass bilong hède. [Jacomb 1914:100] *You come cut 'im grass belong 'ead belong me.* 3. feather. [Jacomb 1914:100] *"Grass belong fowl"; A fowl's feathers.* [Alexander 1927:213] *The feathers of a bird are "grass belong pigeon".* **Gras** is retained in Tok Pisin with the meaning of 'hair', though in Bislama, it has narrowed semantically just to refer to pubic hair. Hair on the head is now expressed as **hea**.

gris (n) fat. [Pionnier 1913:116] *GRAISSE:* Guirisse.

grog (n) alcoholic drink. [Jacomb 1914:101] *GROG.- Any kind of alcoholic liquor.* [Fletcher 1924:121] *'Im 'e sleep finish time two-feller 'e no derrink grog yet.* Now archaic in Bislama.

gubai (int) goodbye. [Fletcher 1923:325] *Oright. Gooby. Me, me stop.* Now usually **tata** in Bislama.

gud (adj) 1. good. [Pionnier 1913:193] *I pèïllme ol tigne i goud; i kilim ol tigne i nogoud.* [Marshall 1937:86] *Yes, the bananas were "good 'long* kai-kai*"!* [Harrisson 1937:145] ... *'E good, you give 'im one something along belly belong yumi, allsame belly belong you me, 'e no sing out back again.* (adv) 2. well. [Baker 1929:22] *Dog 'e sing out good.*

gude (int) good day. [Fletcher 1923:325] *Goudé, Aboh. You go where?*

gudfala (adj) good. [Fletcher 1923:327] *'Im 'e pay good-feller price longa copperah.* [Baker 1929:17] *Face belong 'im 'e* good *fellow too much.* [Marshall 1937:278] *Spose* M. le Commissaire *'e die finish. 'Im 'e goodfella?* [Harrisson 1937:145] Piano: *boxis where man 'e fight 'im white more black feller something along face belong 'im, belly belong 'im 'im 'e talktalk too much, 'e tell 'im out good feller talk.*

haf (n) piece. [Pionnier 1913:116] *Haf brède.*

hafkas (n) mixed race person. [Marshall 1937:280] *Master, ... me think King 'e allesame* half-caste b'long Jesus*!"* Not attested in sources from the period in question in a clearly Bislama context, but this is a word that is widely attested as an early borrowing in many Pacific languages. It is also used in Tok Pisin, also to refer to a Melanesian whose parents come from different parts of the country.

hama (n) hammer. [Pionnier 1913:114] *MARTEAU:* Hama. [Jacomb 1914:95] *Man 'e fight 'im one nail long 'ammer.*

hamas (inter) how much. [Fletcher 1923:326] *How much you pay long copperah?* [Marshall 1937:40] *How much money 'e stop 'long you-fella?*

hambag (intr) misbehave sexually. [Fletcher 1923:106] *Tom he been humbug belong me last night* ... This meaning is now being replaced in modern Bislama by the innocent meaning 'cause nuisance'.

han (n) 1. hand, arm. [Pionnier 1912:112] *SA MAIN:* Ând bilong hème. [Jacomb 1914:93] *Altogether man 'e look 'im arm belong 'im 'e sore: 'e stop.* [Jacomb 1914:95] *Master 'e kill 'im boy long 'and all time.* [Fletcher 1923:327] *Mis Collins 'e bin kill 'im long hand b'long him?* [Alexander 1927:214] ... *Now one big feller machine [crane] 'e got long feller 'and too much, 'e put 'im along worf.* [Pionnier 1913:117] *BRANCHE:* Hand bilong hème.

handre (adj) hundred. [Pionnier 1913:187] *CENT, 100:* Ouane onedré. Invariably with a final consonant in all varieties of modern Melanesian Pidgin. It is tempting to think that Pionnier's final vowel is a mistake.

hanggri (adj) hungry. [Pionnier 1913:191] *AVOIR FAIM:* Angérè.

hangkesif (n) handkerchief. [Pionnier 1913:113] *MOUCHOIR:* Aneguisip.

hariken (n) cyclone. [Pionnier 1913:110] *LA TEMPETE:* Arkine.

harim (tr) hear, feel, smell, understand. [Pionnier 1913:185] *I no arème.* [Pionnier 1913:190] *Mi arème goud.* [Jacomb 1914:94] *Me 'ear 'im one feller man 'e talk.* [Jacomb 1914:94] *Me no 'ear 'im good* [Fletcher 1923:326] *You no bin haar 'im?* [Fletcher 1923:130] *Belly belong me, me hear him he no good.* [Harrisson 1937:145] ... *Belly belong me feller 'e sing out, 'e 'ear 'em no good...*

hat (n) hat. [Pionnier 1913:185] *Hat bilong mi.*

haus (n) house. [Pionnier 1913:116] *MAISON:* Haouse. [Johnson 1921:68] *He wantem you, you two fellow, you come along lookem house belong him, you lookem piccaninny belong him, you lookem Mary belong him.* [Fletcher 1923:329] *Yiss; me bin stop long house long Harry.* [Jacomb 1929:30] *Commandan' belong me feller been go kai kai long ouse belong one feller master.* [Baker 1929:137] *Which way me take 'im calico house belong me, kai-kai belong me, all something belong me along Lake?* [Marshall 1937:145] *"No!" he grunted emphatically, "'Im-fella house b'long King!"*

haus blong pijin (n) bird's nest. [Marshall 1937:20] *Thus the natives found "house more (and) h'egg blong pidgin" a source of easy revenue ...*

haus kaliko (n) tent. [Fletcher 1923:92] *They have heard that there is a 'big fellow master belong gevernment' who lives in a 'house calico' and does strange things with machines.* [Baker 1929:137] *Which way me take 'im calico house belong me, kai-kai belong me, all something belong me along Lake?*

havim (tr) wear. [Fletcher 1923:38] *Oh, no, master, me fellow altogether flash more when we have calico (clothes) belong white man.*

hea (n) hair. [Fletcher 1923:331] *'Im 'e want pull 'im out heye belong Mis Collins longa finger b'long 'im.*

hed (n) 1. head. [Pionnier 1913:109] *Mi ouashème hèd bilong you.* [Jacomb 1914:98] *'Ead (head) belong me he sore.* 2. tree. [Pionnier 1913:184] *TETE DE L'ARBRE:* Hède bilong hème.

hem (pron) he, she, it, him, her. [Pionnier 1912:112] *SA MAIN:* Ând bilong hème. [Speiser 1913:78] *Him he close up.* [Jacomb 1914:92] *'Im e go.* [Johnson 1921:68] *He wantem you, you two fellow, you come along lookem house belong him, you lookem piccaninny belong him, you lookem Mary belong him.* [Marshall 1937:71] *"Big-fella all-same bullamacow, 'im 'e no savvy drown: swim all-same dog, more (and) back-side, b'long 'im all-same pineapple," is how they describe the great old-man saurian of the Yora.* [Marshall 1937:244] *"'Im 'e no pidgin b'long you,* Père," *contradicted Tom ...*

hemfala (pron) that. [Marshall 1937:145] *"No!" he grunted emphatically, "'Im-fella house b'long King!"* 2. his. [Marshall 1937:50] ... *The boys continued working overtime until they heard cleared "'coun' (account) b'long 'im fella trowser."* Again, it is Marshall who

is responsible for these strange attestations involving **-fala**, which do not fit with the remainder of the contemporary record. These could simply be mistakes, though the pronominal form **dempla** is attested as a plural pronoun in Torres Strait Broken.

hemia (pron) that one, this one. [Pionnier 1913:188] *CELUI-CI:* Hème ia. [Fletcher 1923:328] *Yiss; 'em 'ere - "révolver."*

ho (n) hoe. [Pionnier 1913:114] *PIOCHE:* Oou.

hol[1] (n) hole. [Pionnier 1913:114] *Hole bilong hème.*

hol[2] (n) hold (in ship). [Alexander 1927:214] *Bokkis 'e stop along hole belong boat.*

holigos (n) holy ghost. [Pionnier 1913:110] *SAINT-ESPRIT:* Holy Gost.

hot (adj) hot. [Pionnier 1913:117] *Koukime ouata i hot.*

hu (inter) who. [Pionnier 1913:188] *Ou mania?* [Jacomb 1914:102] *WHO? (pronounced Oo).- Who?* [Fletcher 1923:326] *'oo Jack? You tell 'im out.*

huia (inter) who. [Fletcher 1923:326] *'oo 'ere boy where Mis Collins 'e bin kill 'im?*

huk (n) hook. [Jacomb 1914:95] *Me go throw 'im away hook long salt water.*

i (predmrkr) predicate marker. [Pionnier 1913:113] *Hède bilong mi i soa.* [Speiser 1913:78] *Him he close up.* [Jacomb 1914:93] *Kai-kai 'e stop.* [Alexander 1927:214] *Master 'e catch 'im one feller ackis [axe]* ... [Harrisson 1937:328] *'E got too much man 'e stop along place here, belong fight.*

ia[1] (postmod) 1. this, that. [Pionnier 1913:185] Ce, cette *se rendent par* Ia. *Exemple: Ces hommes,* Man ia, *hommes ceux-lá.* [Jacomb 1914:94] *Capsize 'im milk 'ere long jug.* [Harrisson 1937:328] *'E got too much man 'e stop along place here, belong fight.* [Baker 1929:17] *Two fella here 'e steraight* ... (adv) 2. here. [Pionnier 1913:111] *Solouara i go daoune long ouay long ia.*

ia[2] (n) ear. [Pionnier 1913:113] *OREILLE:* Ja.

Inglis (n) English. [Fletcher 1923:329] *Mis Collins 'e pay 'im copperah long Ingerlish money.*

insaid (adv) inside. [Fletcher 1923:330] *Salt-water 'e go inside longa mouth b'long Harry.* [Alexander 1927:214] *One big feller something ... 'e stop along inside...*

jea (n) chair. [Pionnier 1913:115] *BANC:* Séa.

joj (n) church. [Marshall 1937:53] ... *Peter excused his late coming with the plea that he had "bin 'long church - 'long God!"*

kabis (n) cabbage. [Pionnier 1913:117] *CHOUX:* Cabiche.

kaikai (n) 1. food. [Jacomb 1914:93] *Kai-kai 'e stop.* [Marshall 1937:15] "Kai-kai, kai-kai," *he repeated, indicating that it was good to eat* ...; [Harrisson 1937:145] ... *Belly belong me feller 'e sing out, 'e 'ear 'em no good, 'e want 'im kaikai 'e go 'long 'im.* (tr) 2. eat. [Pionnier 1913:190] *AVALER:* kaïkaïlle. [Alexander 1927:215] *'E one feller something belong kai-kai [cut] wood* ... [Jacomb 1929:30] *Commandan' belong me feller been go kai kai long ouse belong one feller master.* [Baker 1929:16] *The vocabulary is based on English words with the exceptions of* kai-kai *(=eat, from Polynesian)* ... [Marshall 1937:83] ... *'Im 'e no savvy* kai-kai *(eat)* ... 3. burn. [Jacomb 1914:101] *Plate*

'ere 'e kai-kai me. 4. bite. [Fletcher 1923:331] *'Im 'e kaikai --- b'long Missis b'long Mis Collins.* **kaikai angka** hoist anchor. [Jacomb 1914:101] *"Kai-kai anchor"; Hoist anchor.* **Kaikai** is regarded in modern Bislama as representing influence from Tok Pisin or Solomons Pijin, though it is well attested in Bislama until the modern form **kakai** replaced it.

kalabus (n) 1. jail, prison. [Jacomb 1914:100] *CALABOOS.- Prison.* [Fletcher 1923:328] *Capman 'e take 'im 'e go calaboosh.* [Marshall 1937:317] *He was put in the "calaboose," but ... there was no inquiry* why *the labourer became troublesome.* (tr) 2. imprison. [Jacomb 1914:100] *Altogether 'e calaboos me three time.*

kaliko (n) cloth, clothes. [Pionnier 1913:116] *SERVIETTE:* Calicot. [Jacomb 1914:100] *CALICO.- All linen is calico.* [Fletcher 1923:38] *Oh, no, master, me fellow altogether flash more when we have calico (clothes) belong white man.* [Baker 1929:137] *Which way me take 'im calico house belong me, kai-kai belong me, all something belong me along Lake?*

kam (intr) come. [Pionnier 1913:110] *Solouara i came chore.* [Jacomb 1914:93] *COME. - Is used in the ordinary English sense.* [Johnson 1921:41] ... *My word! Suppose fifty men he come, me no fright.* [Baker 1929:16-17] *One is the description of a saw as "brother belong akus [axe]; pull 'im 'e come, push 'im 'e go".* [Harrisson 1937:145] *Pull 'im 'e come, push 'im 'e go; wood 'e fall down.*

kamap (intr) form. [Marshall 1937:277] *"Meat 'e come up!" she gleefully exclaimed, indicating that new tissue was being formed.*

kambak (intr) come back. [Pionnier 1913:115] *You kème bak long chore.* [Alexander 1927:215] ... *'E come, 'e go, 'e come back ...*

kan (aux) can. [Harrisson 1937:146] *Man 'e no can savvy.* This is just an isolated attestation in the Bislama record, though **ken** does occur in Tok Pisin.

kap (n) percussion cap. [Pionnier 1913:114] *CAPSULE:* Cap.

kapa (n) roofing iron. [Pionnier 1913:114] *TOLE:* Care. The spelling *care* possibly represents a misprinting from a handwritten *cave*, which more plausibly represents **kapa**.

kapman (n) government. [Fletcher 1923:326] Capman *'e bin take 'im 'e go.* **Gavman** is now more common than **kapman**, with the latter being regarded as archaic.

kapsai[1] (intr) tip over. [Pionnier 1913:194] ... *Suppose man ia i dèd, bèl bilong hème i kapsaïll daoun, plèce i no goud.* No other source has **kapsai** without a final consonant, either transitively or intransitively. All modern varieties of Melanesian Pidgin have **kapsait**.

kapsai[2] (tr) pour. [Pionnier 1913:117] *Kapsaïlle botèle ouaïne plinti.*

kapsait (intr) tip over. [Jacomb 1914:94] *Boat 'e capsize.*

kapsaitim (tr) pour. [Jacomb 1914:94] *Capsize 'im milk 'ere long jug.* [Alexander 1927:214] ... *Capsize 'im milk along jug ...*

karasin (n) kerosene. [Marshall 1937:7] *Kerosene blong Jesus Christ 'e bugger-up finish!* Although not attested during between the 1890s and the First World War, this is one of those words that was widely borrowed from Early Pacific Pidgin into a large number of vernaculars in the Pacific in this distinctive shape.

karim (tr) 1. get, have. [Johnson 1921:48] *Me gottem sore leg* ... 2. give birth to. [Fletcher 1923:170] *One mamma 'e bin carry you two feller more Jack?*

kasim (tr) 1. reach. [Speiser 1913:78] *Bim by you me catch him.* [Harrisson 1937:146] *Might you me catch 'im quick time. Might sun 'e dead along road.* 2. get, carry. [Pionnier 1913:195] *I kasèm hèm, i mèkfas long oud ol sème.* [Jacomb 1914:94] *You catch 'im quick.* [Johnson 1921:48] *You go along Mary (woman) belong Master catchem one fellow something he brather belong ackus (axe), pullem he come, pushem he go.* [Fletcher 1923:330] *Mis Collins 'e catch 'im Harry long neck b'long 'im.* [Alexander 1927:214] ... *Altogether catch 'im one bokkis you fight 'im 'e sing out.* [Baker 1929:21] *Belong catch 'im fish?*

katim (tr) cut. [Pionnier 1913:117] *You catème brède long soupa.* [Jacomb 1914:100] *You come cut 'im grass belong 'ead belong me.* [Fletcher 1923:130] *Me think very good you cut him.*

kaun (n) debt. [Jacomb 1914:100] *Count belong me 'e stop long store.* [Marshall 1937:50] *...The boys continued working overtime until they heard cleared "'coun' (account) b'long 'im fella trowser."*

kava (n) cover, lid. [Pionnier 1913:115] *COUVERCLE:* Care. Presumably Pionnier's *r* was an error for *v*.

kavakava (n) kava. [Marshall 1937:20] Nevulko *(Piper methysticum), famous throughout the South Seas as the plant which produces the native intoxicant* kava-kava. This is another idiosyncratic reduplication by Marshall, and we should be suspicious of it.

kavrimap (tr) cover. [Pionnier 1913:184] *Kavremap hole bilong baniche.*

ki (n) key. [Alexander 1927:216] *Master, 'im 'e key belong bokkis you fight 'im 'e sing out.*

kikim (tr) kick. [Marshall 1937:300] ... *'Im 'em call 'im me one* 'mission bastard', *more (and) talk strong 'long kick 'im back-side b'long me-fella!*

kilim (tr) 1. hit. [Jacomb 1914:95] *Master 'e kill 'im boy long 'and all time.* [Fletcher 1923:326] *'Im 'e bin killa one boy.* [Marshall 1937:7] ... *To "kill" is merely to strike, but to "kill 'im dead finish" is to slay something as in the correct usage of the word.* 2. kill. [Pionnier 1913:193] *I pèïllme ol tigne i goud; i kilim ol tigne i nogoud.* [Johnson 1921:186] *He takem plenty pigs; he takem plenty women; he killem plenty men.* [Baker 1929:21] *By and by you kill him finish?*

king (n) king. [Marshall 1937:145] *"No!" he grunted emphatically, "'Im-fella house b'long King!"*

kinu (n) canoe. [Pionnier 1913:115] *PIROGUE:* Kinou. [Jacomb 1914:101] *CANOE (pronounced Kinoo).- Canoe.*

kirap (intr) get up, rise. [Pionnier 1913:112] Sane crap, *soleil monter.*

klaud (n) sky. [Pionnier 1913:110] *LE CIEL:* Claoud. [Pionnier 1913:193] *I mèkèm ol tigne: Claound, Sane, Moune, Solouara, graoun* ... Pionnier gives 'sky' as the meaning, though all modern varieties have this form meaning simply 'cloud'.

klok (n) o'clock. [Pionnier 1913:111] *UNE HEURE:* Ouane clok.

klosap (adj) near. [Speiser 1913:78] *Him he close up.* [Jacomb 1914:99] ... *'E stop 'long big feller bokis close up long window.* [Fletcher 1923:330] *Close up 'im 'e derrown.* [Marshall 1937:119] ... *The magical words "Close-up too-much" always means that journey's end is near. Or within four miles, anyway.* [Harrisson 1937:145] *'E no close up, 'e no long way too much.*

kok (n) cork. [Jacomb 1914:99] *Cork 'err 'e strong more.* The modern word is **busong**, which was also attested from the early twentieth century in Bislama. **Kok** in modern Bislama has only a genital meaning.

kokonas (n) coconut. [Johnson 1921:107] *One fellow man, him name blong Nowdi, he ketchem plenty coconuts, he ketchem plenty pigs, he ketchem plenty Mary.* [Marshall 1937:77] *Sorrowfully, the little missionary led his flock back to the intricacies of ... "three-fella coconuts more (=and) two-fella banana 'e savvy makim five-fella altogether."*

kol[1] (adj) cold. [Pionnier 1913:112] *I col tou mach.* Now more commonly reduplicated as **kolkol**.

kol[2] (n) coal. [Fletcher 1923:328] *Me look out coal long machine.*

kolim (tr) call. [Alexander 1927:214] ... *Master 'e call 'im bokkis belong music ...* [Marshall 1937:57] *"I think me callim* Neto*," he said.*

komandan (n) commanding officer. [Jacomb 1929:30] *Commandan' belong me feller been go kai kai long ouse belong one feller master.*

Kongkong (n) Chinese person. [Alexander 1927:214] *By'n by Kong-Kong [Chinaman] 'e fas'in rope along bokkis you fight 'im 'e sing out ...* No longer known in Bislama, where **Jaena** is used. However, **Kongkong** is used as a derogatory term in Tok Pisin to refer to Chinese.

kopra (n) copra. [Fletcher 1923:326] *How much you pay long copperah?*

korel (n) coral. [Fletcher 1923:330] *'Im 'e fight 'im face b'long Harry long one piece corail.*

kot[1] (n) coat. [Pionnier 1913:113] *PALETOT:* Côt.

kot[2] (n) court. [Jacomb 1929:46] *You tell-im out along Court; time you been talk along two feller, two feller e been tell-im you what name?*

krab (n) crab. [Fletcher 1923:130] *You no bin kaikai crab?*

krae (intr) cry. [Alexander 1927:215] *By'n by missus e' cry. Master 'e cry too.* [Titayna and Lugeon 1931:31] *Violin: "Smolsistere blanbigfallabokis blanwetman spose scrachbele icry ..."*

krangke (adj) crazy. [Pionnier 1913:185] *FOU:* I krangai. [Jacomb 1914:99] *CRANKY.- Daft.* [Fletcher 1923:106] *No, what name. You cranky?* [Marshall 1937:265] *Fearing perhaps that the septic ankle had driven his master "cranky", Sedhi came at the double ...*

kristen (n) Christian. [Fletcher 1923:106] *I knew that there was a 'big-fellow school belong make him Christian' (=baptism) on, and I was not surprised to find dungarees and 'trade' print dresses substituted for bamboo boxes and palm leaves.*

kros (adj) 1. angry. [Jacomb 1914:97] *CROSS.- Angry.* [Fletcher 1923:329] *'Im 'e cross.* (tr) 2. be angry with. [Pionnier 1913:196] *Big fala Masta i no cross you.* Now only used intransitively in Bislama.

kru (n) sprout. [Pionnier 1913:117] *GERME:* I crou bilong hème. Also used in Tok Pisin with this meaning.

kruked (adj) crooked, difficult. [Jacomb 1914:98] *CROOKED.- Crooked.* [Jacomb 1914:98] [Jacomb 1914:98] *Language belong me feller 'e straight, language belong you 'e crooked.*

kukim (tr) 1. cook, boil. [Pionnier 1913:116] *You koukime en'guisse.* [Fletcher 1923:254] *Bald'ed, you sabby Koumala ... where me cook 'im long you me burn 'im?* 2. burn. [Pionnier 1913:194] *Big fala Masta i koukime bèl bilong hèm long faia, long ol taïme no finish.* 'Burn' is now expressed as **bonem** in Bislama, though **kukim** is retained with this meaning in Tok Pisin.

kumala (n) sweet potato. [Fletcher 1923:254] *Bald'ed, you sabby Koumala ... where me cook 'im long you me burn 'im?* [Marshall 1937:110] ... *Bananas,* kumara *(sweet-potato), arrowroot and yam regularly found their way to the table.*

kwik (adv) quickly. [Pionnier 1913:193] *VITE:* Quike. [Jacomb 1914:94] *You catch 'im quick.*

kwiktaem (adv) quickly. [Harrisson 1937:146] *Might you me catch 'im quick time. Might sun 'e dead along road.*

kwinin (n) quinine. [Fletcher 1924:154] *You no want make 'im drink quinine?*

laf (intr) laugh. [Pionnier 1913:191] *RIRE:* lave *(*laf *anglais).*

lai (intr) tell lies, be mistaken. [Jacomb 1914:94] *"You lie" equals (1) No; that is not so; (2) You are lying.* Now replaced completely by **giaman** (which was attested as an alternative at the same time) though **laia** is still retained as an intransitive verb in Solomons Pijin.

laik (aux) want to. [Marshall 1937:88] *"Jemis" said to me "man 'e like makim sing-sing" and asked if I'd like to witness a "danis".* [Marshall 1937:149] *Boy 'e like spik 'long God.* Another isolated attestation by Marshall, though auxiliary **laik** is standard in Tok Pisin.

laikim (tr) like. [Jacomb 1914:96] *LIKE.- To like.* [Harrisson 1937:146] *My word, suppose allsame me no like 'im.*

lanim (tr) teach. [Jacomb 1914:94] *Me learn 'im you make 'im this feller.*

lanis (n) speedboat. [Jacomb 1914:96] *Lanish 'e races more.* [Fletcher 1923:325] *Me come long Ambrym longa lannitch.* [Titayna and Lugeon 1931:31] *Automobile ... "Lanich blang grand ..."*

lanwis (n) language. [Jacomb 1914:98] *Language belong me feller 'e straight, language belong you 'e crooked.*

lap lap (n) pudding. [Speiser 1913:114] *lap-lap* [Johnson 1921:47] *He had ... died from poison placed in his* lap-lap, *a pudding made of coconuts and fish.* [Fletcher 1923:156] *Then we have a large clam which is likewise roasting in a lap-lap of grated plantain, the whole enveloped in a plantain leaf.* [Marshall 1937:15] *I ate* lap-lap *or native pudding which the chief personally made for me ...*

las (adj) last. [Fletcher 1923:106] *Tom he been humbug belong me last night ...*

ledaon (intr) kneel. [Pionnier 1913:190] *S'AGENOUILLER:* L'ète daoun.

leg (n) leg. [Pionnier 1912:112] *JAMBE:* Lègue. [Fletcher 1924:239] *Me kai-kai leg b'long 'im; 'im 'e fright.*

lelebet (adv) 1. rather. [Jacomb 1914:93] ... *It is common to add a phrase at the end, such as "long way too much"; or, "long way little bit"...* [Fletcher 1923:328] *Yiss; 'e long time little bit.* [Marshall 1937:119] ... *Ura replied: "Long-way little-bit."* 2. a little. [Baker 1929:22] *Now dog 'e sing out little bit.* [Marshall 1937:279] *In this case, the Tongkinese only killed him "little-bit-no-more!"*

les (adj) lazy. [Pionnier 1913:185] *FAINEANT:* I lès. [Fletcher 1923:195] *You lazy too much longa come down.*

livim (tr) leave. [Pionnier 1913:191] *METTRE:* Livime.

loli (n) sweet. [Marshall 1937:9] Nepal = *I loli (lolly or sweet), the blackboard announced in bold white chalk* ... **Loli** was commonly borrowed into Pacific vernaculars from Early Pacific Pidgin.

long[1] (prep) 1. with. [Pionnier 1913:192] *AVEC:* long. [Pionnier 1913:193] *When sikine bilong hèm i dèd, bèl bilong hème i go onetap, goud plèce long Big fala Masta* ... [Marshall 1937:40] *How much money 'e stop 'long you-fella?* 2. in, on, at. [Jacomb 1914:95] *Me go throw 'im away hook long salt water.* [Johnson 1921:123] ... *One of the boys ran up to me and told me ... that he had seen "plenty big fellow man along bush"...* [Marshall 1937:53] ... *Peter excused his late coming with the plea that he had "bin 'long church - 'long God!"* 3. to, into. [Johnson 1921:48] *You go along Mary (woman) belong Master catchem one fellow something he brather belong ackus (axe), pullem he come, pushem he go.* [Baker 1929:21] *I put 'im dynamite along meat.* [Harrisson 1937:145] ... *Belly belong me feller 'e sing out, 'e 'ear 'em no good, 'e want 'im kaikai 'e go 'long 'im.* 4. instrumental. [Pionnier 1913:116] *You koukime raïce long guirisse.* [Jacomb 1914:95] *Master 'e kill 'im boy long 'and all time.* 5. from. [Fletcher 1923:325] *Me come long Ambrym longa lannitch.*

long[2] (conj) because. [Fletcher 1923:329] *Two-feller 'e row longa Mis Collins 'e speak "Frennich money 'e no good."* Now replaced by **from** in modern Bislama. However, Tok Pisin uses **long wanem** as a conjunction in this way.

long[3] (comp) to. [Fletcher 1923:327] *'Im 'e come longa pay 'im copperah.* [Marshall 1937:86] *Yes, the bananas were "good 'long* kai-kai*"!*

longfala (adj) long, tall. [Jacomb 1914:97] *Man 'ere 'e long feller too much.* [Alexander 1927:214] ... *Now one big feller machine [crane] 'e got long feller 'and too much, 'e put 'im along worf.*

longfala pig (n) human killed to be eaten. [Jacomb 1914:102] *LONG FELLER PIG.- Man, viewed from a cannibalistic aspect.* Because this tends to occur in sensationalist attestations, it is difficult to know whether this represented genuine usage, or whether it was just part of European folklore.

longtaem (adv) 1. long time ago. [Fletcher 1923:326] *Two feller 'e go Vila finish long time?* 2. for a long time. [Fletcher 1923:328] *You stop long time longa Liro?*

longwe (adj) distant, far off. [Pionnier 1913:111] *Solouara i go daoune long ouay long ia.* [Jacomb 1914:93] ... *It is common to add a phrase at the end, such as "long way too*

much"... [Marshall 1937:119] *... Ura replied: "Long-way little-bit."* [Harrisson 1937:145] *'E no close up, 'e no long way too much.*

luk (intr) 1. look. [Jacomb 1914:96] *You look, you look, you look ...* (tr) 2. see, look at. [Pionnier 1913:115] *You louk stone long ouay.* [Fletcher 1923:329] *'Im 'e look Mis Collins.* [Jacomb 1929:30] *Me feller look look, me feller look tin e ful up.* [Baker 1929:137] *All man 'e luk, 'e speak 'e no look 'im before.*

lukaut (tr) 1. look after. [Fletcher 1923:327] *White man where 'e look out store long Liro.* 2. look for. [Fletcher 1924:167] *... You go look out firewood.*

lukbuk (intr) read. [Pionnier 1913:191] *LIRE:* Louke bouke. Remembered by occasional Bislama speakers as an old word for 'read'.

lukim (tr) see, look at. [Jacomb 1914:93] *Altogether man 'e look 'im arm belong 'im 'e sore: 'e stop.* [Jacomb 1914:99] *... All time you look 'im me make mark long paper along 'im ...* [Johnson 1921:53] *Master, ... me lookum some fellow man he die finish.* [Fletcher 1924:121] *Orright. Byumby me come look him.* [Baker 1929:137] *All man 'e luk, 'e speak 'e no look 'im before.* [Marshall 1937:279] *Masta 'e look'im 'e no savvy wok strong.* While the transitive verb is usually expressed as **luk** in Bislama and this form is sometimes said to represent a recent Tok Pisin borrowing into Bislama, it does have a long history of attestation in Bislama. Johnson, however, also points to the earlier existence of **lukum** as well.

lukluk (intr) look, watch. [Jacomb 1929:30] *E speak me feller look look.*

mait (adv) maybe, perhaps. [Jacomb 1914:92] *Might me go.* [Fletcher 1923:333] *Might Capman 'e make 'im all same.* [Harrisson 1937:146] *Might you me catch 'im quick time. Might sun 'e dead along road.*

maiwad (int) my word! [Johnson 1921:15] *My word! Master! Belly belong me walk about too much!* [Fletcher 1923:195] *My word! You you fat too much.* [Harrisson 1937:146] *My word, suppose allsame me no like 'im.*

mama (n) mother. [Pionnier 1913:109] *MERE:* Maman. [Fletcher 1923:170] *One mamma 'e bin carry you two feller more Jack?*

man (n) 1. man. [Pionnier 1913:193] *Big fala Masta ia, Masta bilong ol man, ol oumane.* [Jacomb 1914:93] *Altogether man 'e look 'im arm belong 'im 'e sore: 'e stop.* [Johnson 1921:41] *... My word! Suppose fifty men he come, me no fright.* [Baker 1929:21] *One small fella dog belong me, suppose man 'e come, 'e no sing out.* [Marshall 1937:83] *The mountainmen told me that "one man n'more (only)" from each of the old villages was possessed of a "devil" which had the power to venture forth and kill other men.* 2. person (of a particular place). [Fletcher 1923:205–206] *If Topsy sticks to him and he grows up to be a 'man Aoba,' he will probably be much happier.* (adj) 3. male. [Pionnier 1913:114] *VERRAT:* Pig mane.

manbus (n) unsophisticated inland person. [Jacomb 1914:99] *Natives who work as house servants naturally acquire rapidly a much larger vocabulary of names of common things than the mere "Man bush"...* [Fletcher 1923:113] *I knew jolly well that 'man-bush' would be shivering with fright of the devil-devils somewhere in the bush.*

Mande (n) Monday. [Pionnier 1913:111] *LUNDI:* Monday.

mani (n) money. [Jacomb 1914:95] *Me throw 'im away all money long store.* [Fletcher 1923:329] *All boy 'e no want 'im Frennich money.* [Marshall 1937:40] *How much money 'e stop 'long you-fella?*

manis (n) month. [Pionnier 1913:112] *MOIS:* Ouane moune (Ouane maniche).

manua (n) warship. [Johnson 1921:19] *From lip to lip an English word was passed, "Man-o'-war – Man-o'-war – Man-o'-war."* [Fletcher 1923:326] *Two feller 'e go long* picnini man-war. Rare in modern Bislama, now expressed as **wosip**, but **manua** was widely borrowed into Pacific languages form Early Pacific Pidgin.

marasin (n) medicine. [Fletcher 1923:130] *By and by me put him on medicine.* The usual pronunciation today is **meresin**, but forms based on **marasin** have been borrowed into a number of Vanuatu languages, and this is also the form that is retained in Tok Pisin.

marid (intr) married. [Pionnier 1913:112] *Oumane i marit.* [Fletcher 1923:330] *Harry 'e marry long 'im?*

masin (n) machine. [Fletcher 1923:328] *Me look out coal long machine.* [Alexander 1927:214] ... *Now one big feller machine [crane] 'e got long feller 'and too much, 'e put 'im along worf.*

masis (n) matches. [Fletcher 1923:330] *You gotta matches?* [Jacomb 1929:30] *Im e slack im matchès.*

masket (n) rifle. [Pionnier 1913:114] *FUSIL:* Mousket. [Jacomb 1914:100] *MUSKET.- Gun.* [Fletcher 1923:328] *'Im 'e bin shoot 'im longa small feller musket.* [Marshall 1937:7) *In pidgin all guns are "muskits"* ...

masta (n) 1. boss. [Pionnier 1913:193] *I stap onetap Big fala Masta.* [Jacomb 1914:93] *Master 'e no stop.* [Johnson 1921:15] *My word! Master! Belly belong me walk about too much!* [Fletcher 1923:92] *They have heard that there is a 'big fellow master belong gevernment' who lives in a 'house calico' and does strange things with machines.* [Alexander 1927:214] *Master 'e speak, 'Now you sickis [six] feller you go along big feller boat* ... [Baker 1929:17] *One big fella bokus [box], 'e got tooth; time master 'e fight 'him, 'e sing out.* [Marshall 1937:279] *Masta 'e look'im 'e no savvy wok strong.* 2. European. [Jacomb 1914:99] *MASTER.- (1) Any European; (2) a native's employer.* [Jacomb 1929:30] *Commandan' belong me feller been go kai kai long ouse belong one feller master.*

maut (n) mouth. [Pionnier 1913:112] *BOUCHE:* Maoute. [Fletcher 1923:330] *Salt-water 'e go inside longa mouth b'long Harry.* [Alexander 1927:214] *'E got big feller mouth too much.*

medai (n) medal. [Pionnier 1913:197] *You mèkèm médaille ol sème.* Modern Bislama has **meda** or **medel**, but some vernaculars retain forms borrowed from **medai**.

mekim (tr) make. [Pionnier 1913:116] *You mèkèm soupa.* [Jacomb 1914:94] *Me learn 'im you make 'im this feller.* [Johnson 1921:68] *He makem big fellow sing-sing.* [Marshall 1937:77] *Sorrowfully, the little missionary led his flock back to the intricacies of ... "three-fella coconuts more (=and) two-fella banana 'e savvy makim five-fella altogether."* [Marshall 1937:88] *"Jemis" said to me "man 'e like makim sing-sing" and asked if I'd like to witness a "danis".*

mekfaia (intr) light fire. [Pionnier 1913:117] *FAIS DU FEU:* Mèke faïa. Now only expressed as the transitive construction **mekem faea**.

mekfas (intr) tie. [Pionnier 1913:195] *I kasèm hèm, i mèkfas long oud ol sème.* Now only expressed as the transitive verb **fasem**.

mekmak (intr) write. [Jacomb 1914:99] *'Im 'e belong make mark 'long paper...* Now only expressed as the transitive construction **mekem mak**.

mekwanem (intr) do what. [Fletcher 1923:326] *Mis Collins 'e bin make wha'name?*

mekwara (intr) wet. [Pionnier 1913:184] *Mèke ouara long choux (cabège).* Now only expressed as the transitive verb **wasem**.

melek (n) milk. [Jacomb 1914:103] *Milk pronounced milik.* [Alexander 1927:214] ... *Capsize 'im milk along jug ...*

meri (n) woman. [Jacomb 1914:100] *MARY.- Woman* [Johnson 1921:48] *You go along Mary (woman) belong Master catchem one fellow something he brather belong ackus (axe), pullem he come, pushem he go.* [Johnson 1921:64–65] *In their almost unintelligible* bêche-de-mer, *the natives explained that the fruits were for "Mary" - their* bêche-de-mer *word for woman.* Now regarded as a Tok Pisin word, but it also occurs in Solomons Pijin as **mere**, and also well attested in the written record of Bislama until relatively recently.

met (n) friend. [Pionnier 1913:112] *AMI:* mète. Little used in modern Bislama, but **met** has been borrowed into some Vanuatu vernaculars.

mi (pron) I, me. [Pionnier 1913:109] *Mi ouashème hèd bilong you.* [Speiser 1913:122–123] *"Well, me, me go." They answer, "All right, you go."* [Jacomb 1914:92] *Me go.* [Johnson 1921:41] ... *My word! Suppose fifty men he come, me no fright.* [Baker 1929:21] *Me want 'im small, small something.* [Marshall 1937:57] *"I think me callim* Neto,*" he said.* [Harrisson 1937:146] *My word, suppose allsame me no like 'im.*

mifala (pron) we (plural exclusive). [Jacomb 1914:92] *Me feller go.* [Fletcher 1923:333] *Me-feller take 'im 'e go longa white man longa Mapuna.* [Alexander 1927:214] *Me feller me go along boat.* [Jacomb 1929:30] *Commandan' belong me feller been go kai kai long ouse belong one feller master.* [Marshall 1937:97] ... *Others, more honest, freely admitted "me-fella fright plenty too-much"* ... [Marshall 1937:300] ... *'Im 'em call 'im me one* 'mission bastard', *more (and) talk strong 'long kick 'im back-side b'long me-fella!*; [Harrisson 1937:145] I am hungry: *belly belong me feller 'e sing out ...*

milnait (n) midnight. [Pionnier 1913:111] *MINUIT:* Mil naïte. Now invariably **medel naet** in Bislama. However, **melewan** 'middle' does occur in Solomons Pijin, so this may have been accurately recorded by Pionnier.

misen (n) mission. [Marshall 1937:300] ... *'Im 'em call 'im me one* 'mission bastard', *more (and) talk strong 'long kick 'im back-side b'long me-fella!*

misi (n) missionary. [Fletcher 1923:161] *The news of my sinful life has got round the islands and the local 'missy' no longer calls in on me on his way to instil the shorrter* [sic] *catechism into his faithful.* [Marshall 1937:225] *Thus, we find one "missi" declaring war on tobacco because "it is a great evil"* ... Now archaic, but very widely borrowed by Pacific languages from Early Pacific Pidgin.

misis (n) 1. European woman. [Jacomb 1914:99] *"MISSUS".- A European lady.* [Fletcher 1923:155] *The 'missis' is at present roasting yam for our dinner.* [Alexander 1927:214–215) *Missus 'e catch 'im bokkis belong sid down [chari].* 2. wife (of European). [Fletcher 1923:325] *Missis b'long 'im 'e no stop?*

misnari (adj) Christian. [Jacomb 1914:98] *Me me missionary: nother feller man 'ere 'e man belong darkness.*

mit (n) 1. meat. [Pionnier 1913:116] *VIANDE:* Mite. [Jacomb 1914:100] *MEAT.- ... Meat ...* [Baker 1929:21] *I put 'im dynamite along meat.* 2. flesh, muscle. [Jacomb 1914:100] *You no gat meat long arm belong you.* [Marshall 1937:277] *"Meat 'e come up!" she gleefully exclaimed, indicating that new tissue was being formed.*

mitufala (pron) we (dual exclusive). [Jacomb 1914:92] *Me two feller go.* [Jacomb 1929:30] *Byambye im e sing out along me two feller.*

miusik (n) music. [Alexander 1927:214] ... *Master 'e call 'im bokkis belong music ...*

mo[1] (conj) and. [Fletcher 1923:328] *Mis Collins more Harry two feller 'e bin row.* [Marshall 1937:20] *Thus the natives found "house more (and) h'egg blong pidgin" a source of easy revenue ...*

mo[2] (adv) more, very much. [Pionnier 1913:192] *DAVANTAGE, PLUS:* More. [Jacomb 1914:96] *Lanish 'e races more.* [Jacomb 1914:97] *Better equals good more, more better.* [Baker 1929:137] ... *You catch 'im some more all same.* [Marshall 1937:119] *"Long-way more" might mean anything from five to fifty miles ...*

mobeta (adv) preferable. [Jacomb 1914:97] *Better equals good more, more better.* [Johnson 1921:54] *Me think more better you no put him along ground.* [Fletcher 1923:329] *More better you me two-feller sit down.*

mogud (adv) preferable. [Johnson 1921:68] *More good you, you two fellow come.*

mone (n) morning. [Pionnier 1913:111] *Tri clok long morné.* Invariably **moning** or **monen** in Bislama, though **mone** does occur in Solomons Pijin.

mun (n) 1. moon. [Pionnier 1913:193] *I mèkèm ol tigne: Claound, Sane, Moune, Solouara, graoun ...* 2. month. [Pionnier 1913:112] *MOIS:* Ouane moune (Ouane maniche). [Jacomb 1914:100] *Master 'e pay 'im me feller long moon all time.* [Fletcher 1923:328] *Four moon 'e go finish now.* The meaning of 'month' is now invariably expressed as **manis**, though Tok Pisin retains **mun** with this double function.

naef (n) knife. [Pionnier 1913:114] *COUTEAU:* Naïf.

naen (adj) nine. [Pionnier 1913:187] *NEUF, 9:* Naïne.

naet (n) night. [Fletcher 1923:106] *Tom he been humbug belong me last night ...*

nalnal (n) club. [Pionnier 1913:114] *CASSE-TETE:* Malalale. I presume that Pionnier's form is a printing error for **nalnal**.

nambas (n) penis wrapper. [Speiser 1913:60] *nambas* [Johnson 1921:9] *The northern part of the island was shared between the Big Numbers and the Small Numbers people, who took their names from the* nambas, *the garment - if it could be called a garment - worn by men.* [Fletcher 1923:201] *The heathen with his 'nambas' is as clean as any other wild animal.* [Alexander 1927:208] ... *Under it was stuck a characteristic native article of dress*

- *a* nambas - *made of red grass fibres.* [Harrisson 1937:409] *The proud lad comes out ... wearing for the first time his* nambas *penis-wrapper.*

nambawan (adj) first. [Marshall 1937:280] *I explained as carefully and accurately as possible that he was "No. 1 Master altogether," and gave an outline of his possessions ...* The occurrence of **nambawan** with the same meaning in all three varieties of Melanesian Pidgin suggests that it considerably predates Marshall's attestation here and that its absence in the earlier Bislama record is simply accidental.

nangai (n) native almond (*Canarium indicum*). [Marshall 1937:51] *Later she even unbent sufficiently to present me with* nungi *nuts.*

nani (n) goat. [Pionnier 1913:113] *CHEVRE:* Nanni. Widely borrowed into a lot of languages in the Early Pacific Pidgin era.

narafala (adj) other. [Pionnier 1913:184] *AUTRE:* Nor fala. [Jacomb 1914:98] *Me me missionary: nother feller man 'ere 'e man belong darkness.* [Jacomb 1929:30] *Me feller no savvy nother feller something.*

nating (adv) nothing, not at all. [Fletcher 1923:326] *Me no haara nothing.* [Marshall 1937:270] *'E nothing. One week - 'e finish.* [Fletcher 1923:329] *Me no capman nothin'.*

nau (adv) now. [Pionnier 1913:194] *Ol raight ... Harème naou.* [Fletcher 1923:328] *Four moon 'e go finish now.* [Alexander 1927:214] *Master 'e speak, 'Now you sickis [six] feller you go along big feller boat ...* [Baker 1929:22] *Now dog 'e sing out little bit.*

nauia (adv) now. [Pionnier 1913:192] *MAINTENANT:* Naouia. [Fletcher 1923:326] *Me come now 'ere no more.*

nek (n) neck. [Fletcher 1923:330] *Mis Collins 'e catch 'im Harry long neck b'long 'im.*

nem (n) name. [Pionnier 1913:194] *Nème bilong tri fala ia: Fada (Papa), San (Pikinini), Holy Gost.* [Johnson 1921:107] *One fellow man, him name blong Nowdi, he ketchem plenty coconuts, he ketchem plenty pigs, he ketchem plenty Mary.* [Fletcher 1923:327] *name long 'im Djemalaos?* [Jacomb 1929:30] *Name belong me Tom.* [Marshall 1937:279] *Other coolies were in for theft and for "smok 'im something - name b'long 'im 'opium'."*

netif (n) Melanesian. [Marshall 1937:36] *That is "fasion b'long native" in Santo.*

nevamain (adv) it doesn't matter. [Harrisson 1937:327] *Never mind man 'e dead.*

nil (n) 1. nail. [Pionnier 1913:114] *POINTE:* Nil. [Jacomb 1914:95] *Man 'e fight 'im one nail long 'ammer.* 2. spike, prickle. [Pionnier 1913:117] *EPINE:* Nil bilong hème.

nius (n) news. [Fletcher 1923:333] *You bin haar 'im news long Jack?*

no[1] (premod) negative. [Pionnier 1913:115] *I no got.* [Jacomb 1914:93] ... *Or, again (with the love of the Kanaka for negatives), "no long way too much."* [Johnson 1921:41] ... *My word! Suppose fifty men he come, me no fright.* [Baker 1929:21] *"Belong dog 'e no sing out." (Because my dog doesn't bark).* [Marshall 1937:15] *Nobody in Sara could speak English, or even pidgin; ... my relations for the next couple of days were confined to signs and a few words such as "musket", "kai-kai" and "no-savvy."*

no[2] (conj) or. [Fletcher 1923:327] *Mis Collins 'e bin kill 'im long hand b'long him? No, 'e bin kill 'im longa one wood?*

nogud (adj) bad. [Pionnier 1913:193] *I pèïllme ol tigne i goud; i kilim ol tigne i nogoud.* [Jacomb 1914:97] *"No good" equals bad.* [Fletcher 1923:329] *Two-feller 'e row longa Mis Collins 'e speak "Frennich money 'e no good."* [Harrisson 1937:145] ... *Belly belong me feller 'e sing out, 'e 'ear 'em no good...*

nomo (adv) 1. only. [Pionnier 1913:194] *I stap ouane Masta no more.* [Jacomb 1914:100] *Me sign belong one yam no more.* [Johnson 1921:145] *"We walk about, no more," I explained humbly.* [Fletcher 1923:325] *Me walk 'bout no more.* [Baker 1929:21] *Me want 'im small, small, no more.* [Marshall 1937:83] *The mountainmen told me that "one man n'more (only)" from each of the old villages was possessed of a "devil" which had the power to venture forth and kill other men* (adv) 2. negative. [Johnson 1921:47] *He never said "No". His negative was always "No more," and his affirmative was an emphatic "Yes-yes."* Also found in Solomons Pijin, though Tok Pisin has **tasol** instead.

nus (n) nose. [Pionnier 1913:113] *NEZ:* Nouse. [Jacomb 1914:94] *Nose belong me 'ear 'im no good.*

ol[1] (premod) plural. [Pionnier 1913:193] *Big fala Masta ia, Masta bilong ol man, ol oumane.* [Jacomb 1914:95] *Me throw 'im away all money long store.* [Baker 1929:137] *Before, me go along Lake; me catch 'im all small something.*

ol[2] (pron) they (plural). [Baker 1929:137] *By-an-by all 'e speak, 'you go along Gaua ...'*

ol[3] (adj) old. [Jacomb 1914:98] *OLD.- Old.*

olbaut (adv) everywhere. [Pionnier 1913:192] *PARTOUT:* Olpaout. Also found in Solomons Pijin, though Tok Pisin has **nabaut**.

olgeta (pron) 1. they. [Pionnier 1913:186] *Blong olguita.* [Jacomb 1914:92] *Altogether e go.* [Alexander 1927:214] ... *Altogether catch 'im one bokkis you fight 'im 'e sing out.* (adv) 2. altogether, completely. [Jacomb 1914:96] *Worst equals ... no good altogether.* [Marshall 1937:77] *Sorrowfully, the little missionary led his flock back to the intricacies of ... "three-fella coconuts more (=and) two-fella banana 'e savvy makim five-fella altogether."* (premod) 3. all, every. [Jacomb 1914:93] *Altogether man 'e look 'im arm belong 'im 'e sore: 'e stop.* [Johnson 1921:54] *Altogether boy he speak* ... all, every [Marshall 1937:244] *Altogether pidgin 'im 'e b'long* God*!*

olgetafala (pron) they. [Pionnier 1913:186] *Bilong olguita fala ia.* Not attested by any other writer apart from Pionnier, which is puzzling. One is left with the suspicion that Pionnier may have overgeneralised **-fala**.

oli (predmrkr) third person plural predicate marker. [Fletcher 1923:326] *Me haar 'im all 'e tell 'im all same.*

olsem (prep) 1. like, as. [Pionnier 1913:186] *Hat bilong mi i goud ol sèm hat bilong you.* [Fletcher 1923:58] *Me think white man he all same devil-devil.* [Alexander 1927:214] ... *Skin belong 'im allersame [colour] belong me feller.* [Marshall 1937:71] *"Big-fella all-same bullamacow, 'im 'e no savvy drown: swim all-same dog, more (and) back-side, b'long 'im all-same pineapple," is how they describe the great old-man saurian of the Yora.* (comp) 2. so that, in order that. [Harrisson 1937:145] ... *'E good, you give 'im one something along belly belong you me, allsame belly belong you me, 'e no sing out back again.* (adv) 3. thus. [Pionnier 1913:186] *Hat bilong mi i no goud ol sème.* [Jacomb 1914:101] *What name you make 'im all same?* [Fletcher 1923:326] *Me haar 'im all 'e tell*

'im all same. [Baker 1929:137] ... *You catch 'im some more all same.* [Harrisson 1937:146] *My word, suppose allsame me no like 'im.*

oltaem (adv) always. [Pionnier 1913:111] *TOUJOURS:* Ôl taïme. [Jacomb 1914:92] *Before me go all time.* [Jacomb 1914:95] *Master 'e kill 'im boy long 'and all time.* [Jacomb 1914:99] ... *All time you look 'im me make mark long paper along 'im ...* [Fletcher 1923:329] *Mis Collins more Harry two-feller 'e row all time all time.*

olting (n) things. [Pionnier 1913:193] *I mèkèm ol tigne: Claound, Sane, Moune, Solouara, graoun ...* [Jacomb 1914:98] *"Plarnty rice, plarnty all thing"; A lot of rice and other things.*

op (intr) open. [Alexander 1927:214) ... *By'n by bokkis 'e ope.* Now invariably **open,** though **op** is retained in Tok Pisin.

opim (tr) open. [Alexander 1927:214] *Master 'e put 'im 'and along trousis now 'e catch 'im one feller something [key] belong ope 'im.* Now invariably **openem,** though **opim** is retained in Tok Pisin.

oraet (int) OK. [Pionnier 1913:194] *Ol raight ... Harème naou.* [Speiser 1913:122–123] *"Well, me, me go." They answer, "All right, you go."* [Jacomb 1914:102] *ALRIGHT.- Yes.* [Fletcher 1923:325] *Oright. Gooby. Me, me stop.*

pain (n) point (of land). [Jacomb 1914:103] *Point pronounced pine.* This is now an alternative pronunciation for **poen,** which is more common.

painap (n) pineapple. [Pionnier 1913:117] *ANANAS:* Baïnap. Now regarded as archaic for **paenapol,** even though this form has been borrowed into many Vanuatu vernaculars, as well as many other Pacific languages during the Early Pacific Pidgin era.

painapol (n) pineapple. [Marshall 1937:71] *"Big-fella all-same bullamacow, 'im 'e no savvy drown: swim all-same dog, more (and) back-side, b'long 'im all-same pineapple," is how they describe the great old-man saurian of the Yora.*

panikin (n) cup. [Pionnier 1913:116] *TASSE:* Baskine. [Jacomb 1914:100] *PANNIKIN.- Cup.*

papa (n) father. [Pionnier 1913:195] *I no gat Papa bilong hème long graoun.* [Fletcher 1923:239] *Fashion b'long me feller, papa 'e look out piccaninny where 'e man, piccaninny where 'e woman 'e b'long mamma ...*

pasis (n) anchorage, passage through reef. [Fletcher 1923:183] --- *has no 'passage' through the reef, so the launch had to anchor about half a mile out.*

paura (n) gunpowder. [Pionnier 1913:114] *POUDRE:* Paour. Some Vanuatu languages have borrowed **paura** with the meaning of 'gunpowder', and the more recent borrowing **pauta** refers instead to 'talcum powder'.

pe (n) pay. [Jacomb 1914:96] *Me me catch 'im pay belong me finish.*

pem (tr) 1. buy. [Pionnier 1913:190] *Païme bilong mi.* [Jacomb 1914:96] *PAY.- To buy* [Fletcher 1923:325] *Me want pay 'im some somethin' longa store long Mis Collins.* 2. pay. [Jacomb 1914:100] *Master 'e pay 'im me feller long moon all time.* 3. pay with. [Marshall 1937:14] *Had the amorous Wo been a bushman he would ... have been obliged to "pay a pig" ...*

pepa (n) paper. [Jacomb 1914:99] *'Im 'e belong make mark 'long paper...* [Fletcher 1923:333] *'Im 'e bin makea one paper long capman.*

pig (n) pig. [Johnson 1921:107] *One fellow man, him name blong Nowdi, he ketchem plenty coconuts, he ketchem plenty pigs, he ketchem plenty Mary.* [Fletcher 1923:204] *Oh, he no pig b'long me feller.* [Marshall 1937:14] *Had the amorous Wo been a bushman he would ... have been obliged to "pay a pig" ...*

pigpig (n) pig. [Fletcher 1923:256] *'One pig-pig more one fowl where 'e man' were sacrificed.* Now regarded as an archaism for **pig**, though it is still commonly used in Solomons Pijin.

pijin (n) bird. [Alexander 1927:213] *The feathers of a bird are "grass belong pigeon".* [Marshall 1937:7] *In pidgin ... all birds are "pidgins" ...*

pikinini (n) child. [Pionnier 1913:109] Pikinini, San, *enfant.* [Jacomb 1914:100] *PICANINNY.- Child.* [Johnson 1921:68] *He wantem you, you two fellow, you come along lookem house belong him, you lookem piccaninny belong him, you lookem Mary belong him.* [Fletcher 1923:54] *... Me think picaninny belong you he close up time he come down ...* [Baker 1929:137] *Me want 'im all man, all woman, all picininny 'e take 'im all something belong me along Lake.* [Marshall 1937:7] *piccaninny (child).*

pikinini blong tri (n) seed, flower. [Marshall 1937:7] *A flower or seed is "piccaninny (child) blong tree" ...*

pipi (n) turkey. [Jacomb 1914:101] *PEEBEE.- A turkey.* Another word that was widely borrowed into Pacific languages during the Early Pacific Pidgin era, however it is no longer widely used in Bislama.

pis (n) piece. [Fletcher 1923:330] *'Im 'e fight 'im face b'long Harry long one piece corail.*

planim (tr) 1. plant. [Pionnier 1913:191] *PLANTER:* Planème. 2. bury. [Jacomb 1914:96] *Altogether 'e plant 'im finish.* Used with the meaning of 'bury' only in Tok Pisin.

plante (premod) 1. many, much. [Pionnier 1913:117] *Kapsaïlle botèle ouaïne plinti.* [Jacomb 1914:98] *"Plarnty rice, plarnty all thing"; A lot of rice and other things.* [Johnson 1921:107] *One fellow man, him name blong Nowdi, he ketchem plenty coconuts, he ketchem plenty pigs, he ketchem plenty Mary.* [Alexander 1927:214] *Mouth belong music 'e got plenty teeth too much.* [Marshall 1937:83] *... Noemalo was a great village with "plenty,* plenty *man" and many pigs.* 2. very. [Marshall 1937:94] *... I earned an approving "plenty good" from my instructors.* 3. (postmod) very. [Jacomb 1929:30] *Commandan' e sick plarnty.* No longer used preverbally to mean 'very' in any variety of modern Melanesian Pidgin. The postmodifier **tumas** is now used instead.

ples (n) place. [Pionnier 1913:193] *When sikine bilong hèm i dèd, bèl bilong hème i go onetap, goud plèce long Big fala Masta ...* [Fletcher 1923:195] *I tink you like place where you been stop before.* [Harrisson 1937:146] *Might you me find 'im one place belong sleep along road.*

ples ia (adv) here. [Harrisson 1937:328] *'E got too much man 'e stop along place here, belong fight.*

plet (n) plate. [Pionnier 1913:115] *ASSIETTE:* Plète. [Jacomb 1914:101] *Plate 'ere 'e kai-kai me.*

polis (n) police. [Jacomb 1929:30] *Me belong Frenchis polis.*

posen (n) sorcery. [Johnson 1921:47] *He had ... died from poison placed in his* lap-lap, *a pudding made of coconuts and fish.* [Marshall 1937:71] *He was suspected by the Hapuna people ... of "poison" and other forms of sorcery ...*

pul (intr) row. [Pionnier 1913:115] *RAME:* Poul. Pionnier gives 'oar' as the meaning, though modern varieties suggest that it should have been glossed as 'row'.

pulim (tr) pull. [Johnson 1921:48] *You go along Mary (woman) belong Master catchem one fellow something he brather belong ackus (axe), pullem he come, pushem he go.* [Fletcher 1923:331] *Jack 'e pull 'im Harry longa make 'im salt-water 'e nowash him.* [Baker 1929:16–17] *One is the description of a saw as "brother belong akus [axe]; pull 'im 'e come, push 'im 'e go".* [Marshall 1937:7] *(axe) - "pull 'im 'e come, push 'im 'e go."* [Harrisson 1937:145] *Pull 'im 'e come, push 'im 'e go; wood 'e fall down.*

pulimaut (tr) pull out. [Fletcher 1923:331] *'Im 'e want pull 'im out heye belong Mis Collins longa finger b'long 'im.*

pusi (n) cat. [Pionnier 1913:113] *CHAT:* Pouce. Modern Bislama generally has **buskat**, though **busi** is retained as an archaism.

pusim (tr) push. [Johnson 1921:48] *You go along Mary (woman) belong Master catchem one fellow something he brather belong ackus (axe), pullem he come, pushem he go.* [Baker 1929:16–17] *One is the description of a saw as "brother belong akus [axe]; pull 'im 'e come, push 'im 'e go".* [Marshall 1937:7] *(axe) - "pull 'im 'e come, push 'im 'e go."* [Harrisson 1937:145] *Pull 'im 'e come, push 'im 'e go; wood 'e fall down.*

putim (tr) put. [Johnson 1921:54] *Me think more better you no put him along ground.* [Fletcher 1923:333] *All 'e bin put 'im long ground.* [Alexander 1927:214] ... *Now one big feller machine [crane] 'e got long feller 'and too much, 'e put 'im along worf.* [Baker 1929:21] *I put 'im dynamite along meat.*

ragu (n) stew. [Fletcher 1924:122] *Topsy! Take 'im ragoût 'e come.*

raif (n) ripe. [Pionnier 1913:185] *Frut rap.*

rais (n) rice. [Pionnier 1913:116] *RIZ:* Raïce. [Jacomb 1914:98] *"Plarnty rice, plarnty all thing"; A lot of rice and other things.* [Fletcher 1923:130] *Me kai-kai rice no more.*

rat (n) rat. [Pionnier 1913:114] *RAT:* Rate.

rau (intr) argue. [Fletcher 1923:328] *Mis Collins more Harry two feller 'e bin row.*

red (adj) red. [Pionnier 1913:185] *ROUGE:* Rède.

ren (n) rain. [Pionnier 1913:110] *Rène i came daoune.*

resis (intr) speed. [Jacomb 1914:96] *Lanish 'e races more.* [Fletcher 1923:329] *'Im 'e look Mis Collins. Allez; 'em 'e races 'e go down long salt-water.* [Jacomb 1929:30] *Byambye im e race e go long small feller ouse belong Mr Hughes.*

rif (n) reef. [Pionnier 1913:110] *L'ECUEIL:* Rive. [Jacomb 1914:97] *Boat 'e fas' long reef.*

ro (n) oar. [Pionnier 1913:114] *AVIRON:* Ro. No longer used. This is **parel** in modern Bislama.

rod (n) way, path. [Marshall 1937:97] *Most of them shamefacedly muttered "no savvy road"* ... [Harrisson 1937:146] *Might you me catch 'im quick time. Might sun 'e dead along road.*

rolok (n) oar-lock. [Pionnier 1913:115] *RAME:* Rolok.

ronewe (intr) escape, flee. [Jacomb 1914:96] *RUNAWAY.- To run away.*

rop (n) rope. [Alexander 1927:214] *By'n by Kong-Kong [Chinaman] 'e fas'in rope along bokkis you fight 'im 'e sing out ...*

rum (n) room. [Jacomb 1914:99] *You go take 'im one feller something 'e stop along room belong me ...*

rusim (tr) roast. [Pionnier 1913:191] *GRILLER:* Erousime.

sain (intr) sign, sign up. [Jacomb 1914:100] *Me sign belong one yam no more.*

sam (adj) some. [Fletcher 1923:325] *Me want pay 'im some somethin' longa store long Mis Collins.* [Baker 1929:137] ... *You catch 'im some more all same.*

samfala (adj) some. [Johnson 1921:53] *Master, ... me lookum some fellow man he die finish.*

samting (n) thing. [Jacomb 1914:93] *'E no make something; 'e stop.* [Johnson 1921:48] *You go along Mary (woman) belong Master catchem one fellow something he brather belong ackus (axe), pullem he come, pushem he go.* [Fletcher 1923:325] *Me want pay 'im some somethin' longa store long Mis Collins.* [Jacomb 1929:30] *Me feller no savvy nother feller something.* [Baker 1929:21] *Me want 'im small, small something.* [Marshall 1937:7] *A grappling-iron I once heard described as "one-fella something blong scratch 'im bottom blong saltwater."* [Harrisson 1937:145] ... *'E good, you give 'im one something along belly belong you me, allsame belly belong you me, 'e no sing out back again.*

san[1] (n) sun. [Pionnier 1913:193] *I mèkèm ol tigne: Claound, Sane, Moune, Solouara, graoun* ... [Fletcher 1923:58] *Suppose white man he got plenty kai-kai ... which way he want to work belong sun?* [Harrisson 1937:146] *Might you me catch 'im quick time. Might sun 'e dead along road.*

san[2] (n) son. [Pionnier 1913:109] Pikinini, San, *enfant.*

san[3] (n) sand. [Pionnier 1913:110] *LE RIVAGE:* Long sane. Now invariably **sanbij** in modern Bislama. **San** survives residually in modern Bislama in **blaksan, bigsan** and **waitsan,** and in Tok Pisin **wesan.**

sandaun (n) sunset. [Pionnier 1913:112] *LE SOLEIL SE COUCHE:* Sane daoune. This meaning can only be expressed in modern Bislama by means of a clause, i.e. **san i godaon,** or **san i draon.**

Sande (n) Sunday. [Pionnier 1913:111] *DIMANCHE:* Sanday.

sankirap (n) sunrise. [Pionnier 1913:112] *LE SOLEIL SE LEVE:* Sane crap. This meaning can only be expressed in modern Bislama by means of a clause, i.e. **san i kirap.**

sapos (adv) if. [Pionnier 1913:194] ... *Suppose man ia i dèd, bèl bilong hème i kapsaïll daoun, plèce i no goud.* [Jacomb 1914:102] *SUPPOSE.- Used adverbially as equivalent to "if".* [Johnson 1921:41] ... *My word! Suppose fifty men he come, me no fright.* [Baker

1929:21] *One small fella dog belong me, suppose man 'e come, 'e no sing out.* [Fletcher 1923:58] *Suppose white man he got plenty kai-kai ... which way he want to work belong sun?* [Marshall 1937:278] *Spose* M. le Commissaire *'e die finish. 'Im 'e goodfella?* [Harrisson 1937:146] *My word, suppose allsame me no like 'im.*

sarim (tr) shut, close. [Pionnier 1913:191] *Sarème dore.*

Sarere (n) Saturday. [Pionnier 1913:111] *SAMEDI:* Sareray. [Fletcher 1923:329] *Mis Collins 'e bin come ashore longa Saturday?*

saua (adj) sour, bitter. [Jacomb 1914:98] *SOUR.- Anything that is not sweet.* This is now **konkon** in modern Bislama, though **saua** is attested in both Solomons Pijin and Tok Pisin.

sava (n) evening. [Pionnier 1913:111] *LE SOIR:* Sara. Presumably Pionnier's *r* was a misprint for *v*. Several other examples of this confusion can be found in Pionnier (1913).

save (tr) 1. know. [Pionnier 1913:193] *You savé man no ol sème dog ...* [Jacomb 1914:94] *Me no savvy.* [Fletcher 1923:326] *Me no sabby.* [Alexander 1927:214] *"Me no savvy," I don't know.* [Baker 1929:16] savvy *(= know, understand ...)* [Marshall 1937:15] *Nobody in Sara could speak English, or even pidgin; ... my relations for the next couple of days were confined to signs and a few words such as "musket", "kai-kai" and "no-savvy."*; [Harrisson 1937:145] *A few words are French (savvy), some archaic English (gammon).* (aux) 2. be able, know how to. [Pionnier 1913:184] *I save ouok.* [Baker 1929:137] *'E no save take 'im all something.* [Marshall 1937:71] *"Big-fella all-same bullamacow, 'im 'e no savvy drown: swim all-same dog, more (and) back-side, b'long 'im all-same pineapple," is how they describe the great old-man saurian of the Yora.* (aux) 3. habitual. [Fletcher 1923:333] *'Im 'e sabby fighta boy all time all time.* [Marshall 1937:77] *Sorrowfully, the little missionary led his flock back to the intricacies of ... "three-fella coconuts more (=and) two-fella banana 'e savvy makim five-fella altogether."*

savel (n) spade, shovel. [Pionnier 1913:114] *BECHE, PELLE:* Cherèl. This is presumably another example of the confusion between written *v* and printed *r*.

seksek (n) earthquake. [Marshall 1937:91] *I grabbed the sides of my bed ... for the few seconds the "shake-shake" lasted.*

sel (n) sail. [Pionnier 1913:115] *VOILE:* Saile.

selen (n) shilling. [Pionnier 1913:114] *un franc,* chelin.

selo (int) ship ahoy. [Marshall 1937:98] *I had not gone fifty yards when an ecstatic yell made me gaze hard at the horizon ... Sail ho!*

sem[1] (intr) ashamed, embarrassed, shy. [Fletcher 1923:332] *Which way? You no shame ...*

sem[2] (adj) same. [Fletcher 1923:254] *By and by two feller 'e go same place?*

sendim (tr) send. [Fletcher 1923:333] *Finish, 'im 'e send 'im Jack 'e go Vila longa Dokkitor long lannitch b'long Lizzy.*

seven (adj) seven. [Pionnier 1913:187] *SEPT, 7:* Sévène. [Baker 1929:137] *Three white man here, 'e want stop seven days along Lake.*

si (n) heavy sea. [Pionnier 1913:111] *LA MERE EST GROSSE:* Big fala si. [Fletcher 1923:329] *'E got big-feller sea long beach.*

sidaun (intr) sit. [Pionnier 1913:190] *S'ASSEOIR:* Staoune. [Fletcher 1923:329] *More better you me two-feller sit down.* [Alexander 1927:214215] *Missus 'e catch 'im bokkis belong sid down [chari].*

sik (adj) sick. [Pionnier 1913:113] *I sik.* [Johnson 1921:185] *"Me sick; me sick," he repeated over and over.* [Fletcher 1923:130] *You sick long what?* [Jacomb 1929:30] *Commandan' e sick plarnty.*

sikis (adj) six. [Pionnier 1913:187] *SIX, 6:* Sikis.

sikisfala (adj) six. [Alexander 1927:214] *Master 'e speak, 'Now you sickis [six] feller you go along big feller boat ...*

sikispen (n) sixpence. [Jacomb 1914:95] *Me throw 'im away sikispence long school.*

singaot (intr) shout. [Jacomb 1914:94] *SING OUT. - (a) To cry (with pain); (b) to halloa (to attract attention).* [Fletcher 1923:326] *Me sing out, me sing out. No.* [Alexander 1927:213] ... *A piano is "bokkis you fight 'im 'e sing out ...* [Jacomb 1929:30] *Byambye im e sing out along me two feller.* [Baker 1929:17] *One big fella bokus [box], 'e got tooth; time master 'e fight 'him, 'e sing out.* [Titayna and Lugeon 1931:31] *Piano: "Bigfallabokis blanwetman i sinout ..."* [Harrisson 1937:145] I am hungry: *belly belong me feller 'e sing out ...*

singsing (n) singing, traditional dance. [Jacomb 1914:99] *SINGSING.- A native dance.* [Johnson 1921:68] *He makem big fellow sing-sing.* [Alexander 1927:215] *Plenty sing-sing too much.* [Marshall 1937:88] *"Jemis" said to me "man 'e like makim sing-sing" and asked if I'd like to witness a "danis".*

sip (n) ship. [Pionnier 1913:114] *BATEAU:* Chip. [Jacomb 1914:96] *Ship 'e drown finish.*

sipi (n) 1. sheep. [Jacomb 1914:101] *SEEPY.- (a) Sheep; (b) mutton.* 2. mutton. [Jacomb 1914:101] *SEEPY.- (a) Sheep; (b) mutton.* Now **sipsip**. Tok Pisin also has **sipsip**, which suggests that the reduplicated form had early currency, and that Jacomb's attestation of **sipi** represented a temporary development.

sises (n) scissors. [Pionnier 1913:114] *CISEAU:* Cisis.

sista (n) sister. [Pionnier 1913:113] *SOEUR:* Sista. [Titayna and Lugeon 1931:31] *Violin: "Smolsistere blanbigfallabokis blanwetman spose scrachbele icry ..."*

skin (n) skin, body. [Pionnier 1913:193] *When sikine bilong hèm i dèd, bèl bilong hème i go onetap, goud plèce long Big fala Masta ...* [Alexander 1927:214] ... *Skin belong 'im allersame [colour] belong me feller.* [Marshall 1937:83] ... *Skin b'long 'im 'e sore too-much ...*

skinim (tr) peel. [Pionnier 1913:191] *PELER:* Stikinime.

skrabdak (n) megapode. [Marshall 1937:254] ... *I shall ever remember Tommy the half-caste, eager to display his knowledge, referring to* nemal, *the jungle-fowl, as a "scrub-duck"!*

skrasim (tr) scratch, scrape. [Titayna and Lugeon 1931:31] *Violin: "Smolsistere blanbigfallabokis blanwetman spose scrachbele icry ..."* [Marshall 1937:7] *A grappling-iron I once heard described as "one-fella something blong scratch 'im bottom blong saltwater."*

skul (n) church. [Jacomb 1914:95] *Me throw 'im away sikispence long school.* [Fletcher 1923:92] *There is a 'school' (=mission church) not far away and these folk are on their way back from 'divine worship.'*

slakim (tr) strike (matches). [Jacomb 1929:30] *Im e slack im matchès.*

slip (intr) sleep. [Pionnier 1913:191] *DORMIR:* Slipe. [Jacomb 1914:94] *SLEEP. - To sleep.* [Fletcher 1924:121] ... *Monday 'e sleep yet?* [Marshall 1937:91] *At "time b'long sleep" he had lain on the earth floor beside the low bed* ... [Harrisson 1937:146] *Might you me find 'im one place belong sleep along road.*

smel (n) smell. [Pionnier 1913:191] *SENTIR:* Sémèle *(*Smell*).*

smokim (tr) smoke. [Marshall 1937:279] *Other coolies were in for theft and for "smok 'im something - name b'long 'im 'opium'".*

smol (adj) 1. small, little. [Pionnier 1913:116] *PETIT POULET:* Smol paoul. [Jacomb 1914:97] small, little *SMALL.- Is used of quantity as well as size.* [Titayna and Lugeon 1931:31] *Violin: "Smolsistere blanbigfallabokis blanwetman spose scrachbele icry ..."* 2. a little. [Jacomb 1914:97] small, little *SMALL.- Is used of quantity as well as size.*

smolailan (n) offshore island. [Fletcher 1923:103] *There is a very dear little 'small-island' just outside the reef and it was there that I hoped to dwell.*

smolfala (adj) small. [Pionnier 1913:110] *LA BRISE:* Smôl fala ouine [Jacomb 1914:99] ... *'Im 'e black: 'im 'e small feller* ... [Fletcher 1923:328] *'Im 'e bin shoot 'im longa small feller musket.* [Baker 1929:21] *One small fella dog belong me, suppose man 'e come, 'e no sing out.* [Jacomb 1929:30] *Byambye im e race e go long small feller ouse belong Mr Hughes.* **Smol** is one of those adjectives in modern Bislama which does not normally accept the **-fala** suffix.

smolsmol (adj) very small. [Baker 1929:21] *Me want 'im small, small something.*

so[1] (intr) sore, painful. [Pionnier 1913:113] *Hède bilong mi i soa.* [Jacomb 1914:93] *Altogether man 'e look 'im arm belong 'im 'e sore: 'e stop.* [Marshall 1937:83] ... *Skin b'long 'im 'e sore too-much* ... (n) 2. sore. [Pionnier 1913:113] *PLAIE:* Soa.

so[2] (n) shore. [Pionnier 1913:110] *LE RIVAGE:* ... Chore. [Fletcher 1923:329] *'Im 'e want come ashore.*

sol (n) salt. [Pionnier 1913:116] *SEL:* Saul.

solap (intr) swell, swollen. [Fletcher 1923:130] *Arm belong me he swell up me hear him no strong (=hard and hot).*

solpep (n) pepper. [Pionnier 1913:116] *POIVRE:* Saulpèpe. Not known today, nor is this attested by any other source. This would be **pepa** in modern Melanesian Pidgin.

solwara (n) sea. [Pionnier 1913:193] *I mèkèm ol tigne: Claound, Sane, Moune, Solouara, graoun* ... [Jacomb 1914:95] *Me go throw 'im away hook long salt water.* [Fletcher 1923:329] *'Im 'e look Mis Collins. Allez; 'em 'e races 'e go down long salt-water.*

sop (n) soap. [Jacomb 1914:96] *"Swim long soap", To wash with soap.*

sori (int) sorry. [Fletcher 1923:152] ... *Sorry he finish* ...

sospen (n) saucepan. [Pionnier 1913:116] *MARMITE:* Sospène.

sot[1] (n) shirt. [Pionnier 1913:112] *CHEMISE:* Chot.

sot[2] (n) lead shot. [Pionnier 1913:114] *PLOMB:* Shot.

spel (intr) rest. [Jacomb 1914:96] *SPELL.- To rest after work.*

spik (intr) speak, talk. [Jacomb 1914:96] *SPEAK.- To speak.* [Fletcher 1923:329] *Two-feller 'e row longa Mis Collins 'e speak "Frennich money 'e no good."* [Alexander 1927:214] *Master 'e speak, 'Now you sickis [six] feller you go along big feller boat ...* [Jacomb 1929:30] *E speak me feller look look.* [Baker 1929:137] *All man 'e luk, 'e speak 'e no look 'im before.* [Marshall 1937:149] *Boy 'e like spik 'long God.* [Marshall 1937:300] *Me bin speak 'long 'im before!* Attested rarely as an archasim in Bislama, though it is well attested in the earlier written record.

spolim (tr) damage, badly affect. [Marshall 1937:316] *Mast' 'e been spoil'em (infected) me.* Also used in this sense in Solomons Pijin, suggesting a pre-WWI origin.

spun (n) spoon. [Pionnier 1913:115] *CUILLERE:* Soupoune.

stap (intr) stay, be. [Jacomb 1914:93] *Kai-kai 'e stop.* [Fletcher 1923:325] *Oright. Gooby. Me, me stop.* [Alexander 1927:214] *Bokkis 'e stop along hole belong boat.* [Baker 1929:137] *Three white man here, 'e want stop seven days along Lake.* [Marshall 1937:40] *How much money 'e stop 'long you-fella?* [Marshall 1937:83] ... *Devil, 'im 'e stop 'long belly b'long man ...*

stia (n) rudder. [Pionnier 1913:115] *GOUVERNAIL:* Stia.

stikim (tr) pierce. [Jacomb 1914:96] *Nail 'e stick in foot belong me.*

stikmarasin (n) injection. [Marshall 1937:300] *The local missionary regularly gave the natives "stick-medsin" (hypodermic injections) in treatment of framboesia or yaws.*

stil (intr) steal. [Pionnier 1913:185] *I sitil.*

stilim (tr) steal, kidnap. [Jacomb 1914:95] *Altogether 'e steal 'im me.* [Fletcher 1923:150] *She had come round on foot, braving the four hour walk, and all the devils that 'steal 'im-woman 'long bush' in order to make my coffee that morning.*

stima (n) steamship. [Pionnier 1913:115] *BATEAU A VAPEUR:* Sitima. [Fletcher 1923:254] *By and by two feller 'e go 'longa steamer?* Now archaic, but widely borrowed into Pacific languages in the nineteenth century.

stoa (n) store, shop. [Jacomb 1914:95] *Me throw 'im away all money long store.* [Fletcher 1923:325] *Me want pay 'im some somethin' longa store long Mis Collins.*

stoken (n) socks. [Pionnier 1913:112] *BAS:* Stokine.

ston (n) stone, rock. [Pionnier 1913:110] *LES PIERRES:* Stone. [Titayna and Lugeon 1931:31] *Brique ... "Sitone blanwetman ..."*

stop (intr) stop. [Pionnier 1913:115] *ARRETE:* Stop.

storian (intr) chat, tell story. [Fletcher 1923:328] *Oright; you tell 'im out; you storyan.*

stret (adj) 1. straight, plain. [Pionnier 1913:185] *DROIT:* Strèt. [Jacomb 1914:97] *STRAIGHT.- Straight.* [Jacomb 1914:98] *Language belong me feller 'e straight, language belong you 'e crooked.* 2. same, identical. [Pionnier 1913:110] *Tri fala ia i strèt.* [Baker 1929:17] *Two fella here 'e steraight...*

strong (adj) 1. hard, tough, stiff. [Jacomb 1914:99] *STRONG.- Implies resistance or stiffness, as well as strength.* [Fletcher 1923:130] *Arm belong me he swell up me hear him no strong (=hard and hot)* [Alexander 1927:214] *'E fight 'im strong along bokkis ...* [Marshall 1937:279] *Masta 'e look'im 'e no savvy wok strong.* (adj) 2. strong. [Pionnier 1913:192] *FORT, FORTEMENT:* Strongue. [Jacomb 1914:99] *STRONG.- Implies resistance or stiffness, as well as strength.* [Fletcher 1924:247] *My word, Baldead, you you strong too much!* [Harrisson 1937:145] *Black e strong, white e strong ...*

strongfala (adv) hard. [Jacomb 1914:98] *Master 'e kill 'im me strong feller: me dead.*

su (n) cabbage. [Pionnier 1913:184] *Mèke ouara long choux (cabège).* Now invariably **kabis**.

suga (n) sugar. [Pionnier 1913:116] *SUCRE:* Souka.

sugaken (n) sugarcane. [Pionnier 1913:115] *CANNE A SUCRE:* Soukakène.

sulim (tr) tell off. [Jacomb 1914:96] *SOOL.- To speak with energy and vehemence.* Now invariably **raosem**.

supa (n) soup. [Pionnier 1913:116] *SOUPE:* Soupa. Now **sup** or **lasup**.

sut (intr) shoot. [Pionnier 1913:114] *TIRER DU FUSIL:* Chout.

sutboi (n) paid marksman, hunter. [Marshall 1937:18] *... It was Peter, one of our shoot-boys - and he proudly weighed in with a shilling!* Not known today, but it is also attested with this meaning in Tok Pisin, which suggests that it had currency prior to the World War One era.

sutim (tr) shoot. [Fletcher 1923:328] *'Im 'e bin shoot 'im longa small feller musket.*

swet (intr) sweat. [Fletcher 1924:154] *Monday 'e sweat finish.*

swim (intr) 1. swim. [Marshall 1937:71] *"Big-fella all-same bullamacow, 'im 'e no savvy drown: swim all-same dog, more (and) back-side, b'long 'im all-same pineapple," is how they describe the great old-man saurian of the Yora.* 2. bathe. [Jacomb 1914:96] *"Swim long soap", To wash with soap.* [Fletcher 1923:222] *Me wanta swim now.*

swit (adj) sweet. [Jacomb 1914:98] *SWEET.- Sweet.*

tabu (adj) forbidden. [Pionnier 1913:185] *DEFENDU:* Tabou.

taim (n) 1. time. [Pionnier 1913:194] *Big fala Masta i koukime bèl bilong hèm long faia, long ol taïme no finish.* [Jacomb 1914:92] *Before me go one time.* [Marshall 1937:91] *At "time b'long sleep" he had lain on the earth floor beside the low bed ...* 2. weather. [Pionnier 1913:112] *IL FAIT BEAU:* I goud taïme. (sub) 3. when. [Fletcher 1923:329] *You you stop time Mis Collins 'e bin shoot 'im Jack?* [Jacomb 1929:46] *You tell-im out along Court; time you been talk along two feller, two feller e been tell-im you what name?* [Baker 1929:17] *One big fella bokus [box], 'e got tooth; time master 'e fight 'him, 'e sing out.*

talim (tr) say, tell. [Fletcher 1923:326] *Me haar 'im all 'e tell 'im all same.* [Jacomb 1929:46] *You tell-im out along Court; time you been talk along two feller, two feller e been tell-im you what name?*

talimaut (tr) say, tell. [Jacomb 1914:96] *"Tell 'im out"; Relate.* [Fletcher 1923:326] *Which way you no bin tell 'im out?* [Jacomb 1929:46] *You tell-im out along Court; time you*

been talk along two feller, two feller e been tell-im you what name? [Harrisson 1937:145] Piano: *boxis where man 'e fight 'im white more black feller something along face belong 'im, belly belong 'im 'im 'e talktalk too much, 'e tell 'im out good feller talk.*

tamiok (n) axe. [Alexander 1927:215] *Another boy described a saw as follows: ... brother belong tommyhawk.*

tanim (tr) turn. [Pionnier 1913:191] *TOURNER:* Teurnème.

tang (n) tank. [Pionnier 1913:115] *CAISSE A EAU:* Tangue bilong ouata.

taro (n) taro. [Pionnier 1913:184] *TARO:* Taro.

tause (adj) thousand. [Pionnier 1913:187] *MILLE, 1000:* Ouane taoucé. The lack of final **-n** could be another error in this source.

tebol (n) table. [Pionnier 1913:116] *TABLE:* Tèble. [Jacomb 1914:101] *"Calico belong table"; A table cloth.*

tede (adv) today. [Pionnier 1913:111] *AUJOURD'HUI:* Téteille.

tekim (tr) take. [Pionnier 1913:115] *You tèkèm ro.* [Jacomb 1914:94] *Take 'im 'e come.* [Johnson 1921:186] *He takem plenty pigs; he takem plenty women; he killem plenty men.* [Fletcher 1923:326] Capman *'e bin take 'im 'e go.* [Alexander 1927:214] ... *Now me take 'im finis long banis [house] belong master.* [Baker 1929:137] *By-an'-by me take 'im all small something along England.*

tekimaut (tr) remove. [Pionnier 1913:184] *ARRACHE:* Tèke maout. [Fletcher 1923:331] *'Im 'e take 'im out all calico b'long 'im.*

tel (n) tail. [Pionnier 1913:116] *QUEUE:* Tèle.

ten (adj) ten. [Pionnier 1913:187] *DIX, 10:* Tène.

ti (n) tea. [Fletcher 1924:166] *Byumby two-feller 'e come back, two-feller 'e drink tea.*

tin (n) tin. [Pionnier 1913:116] *POT:* Tine. [Jacomb 1914:100] *TIN.- A tin of meat (full or empty).* [Jacomb 1929:30] *Me feller look look, me feller look tin e ful up.*

ting (intr) think. [Johnson 1921:54] *Me think more better you no put him along ground.* [Fletcher 1923:327] *Me tink 'e one boat long all boy.* [Marshall 1937:280] *Master, ... me think King 'e allesame* half-caste b'long Jesus*!"*

tit (n) tooth. [Alexander 1927:214] *Mouth belong music 'e got plenty teeth too much.* Now **tut** in Bislama, though **tit** is retained in Solomons Pijin and Tok Pisin.

Tiusde (n) Tuesday. [Pionnier 1913:111] *MARDI:* Tiousday.

tobak (n) tobacco. [Marshall 1937:25] ... *The men preferred to accept sticks of "tobac" rather than the threepence which was paid for all ordinary specimens.*

tok (n) 1. speech, utterance. [Harrisson 1937:145] Piano: *boxis where man 'e fight 'im white more black feller something along face belong 'im, belly belong 'im 'im 'e talktalk too much, 'e tell 'im out good feller talk.* (intr) 2. speak, talk. [Pionnier 1913:196] *You tok ol sème ol taïne: Mi ouandeème naou tou mesu Jesus, Big fala Masta.* [Fletcher 1923:328] *Me no sabby talk Frennich.* [Jacomb 1929:46] *You tell-im out along Court; time you been talk along two feller, two feller e been tell-im you what name?*

tok strong (intr) shout. [Marshall 1937:300] ... *'Im 'em call 'im me one* 'mission bastard', *more (and) talk strong 'long kick 'im back-side b'long me-fella!*

toktok (intr) speak, talk. [Harrisson 1937:145] Piano: *boxis where man 'e fight 'im white more black feller something along face belong 'im, belly belong 'im 'im 'e talktalk too much, 'e tell 'im out good feller talk.* **Toktok** occurs in all three modern varieties, suggesting a pre-WWI distribution for the form.

trausis (n) trousers. [Pionnier 1913:113] *PANTALON:* Traoussis. [Alexander 1927:214] *Master 'e put 'im 'and along trousis now 'e catch 'im one feller something [key] belong ope 'im.* [Marshall 1937:50] *...The boys continued working overtime until they heard cleared "'coun' (account) b'long 'im fella trowser."*

traut (intr) vomit. [Fletcher 1924:92] *'Im 'e throw out* big-*feller.*

tri[1] (adj) three. [Pionnier 1913:111] *Tri clok long morné.* [Jacomb 1914:100] *Altogether 'e calaboos me three time.* [Baker 1929:137] *Three white man here, 'e want stop seven days along Lake.*

tri[2] (n) tree. [Marshall 1937:7] *A flower or seed is "piccaninny (child) blong tree" ...*

trifala (adj) 1. three. [Marshall 1937:77] *Sorrowfully, the little missionary led his flock back to the intricacies of... "three-fella coconuts more (=and) two-fella banana 'e savvy makim five-fella altogether."* (pron) 2. they (trial). [Pionnier 1913:110] *Tri fala ia i strèt.*

tromwe (tr) 1. throw. [Jacomb 1914:95] *Me throw 'im away all money long store.* 2. contribute. [Jacomb 1914:95] *Me throw 'im away sikispence long school.* **tromwe huk** go fishing. [Jacomb 1914:95] *Me go throw 'im away hook long salt water.* Modern Bislama has only **sakem** for the meaning of 'throw', but Tok Pisin retains the form **tromwe**.

tu[1] (adv) also. [Fletcher 1923:329] *'Im 'e sing out "You wait. Byumby tu-morrer me come talk long you back again. You one --- too."* [Alexander 1927:215] *By'n by missus e' cry. Master 'e cry too.*

tu[2] (adj) two. [Pionnier 1913:111] *Tou clok.*

tudak (adj) dark. [Pionnier 1913:112] *IL FAIT NOIR:* Toufake. Presumably, the *f* was a printing error for *t* or *d*.

tufala (adj) 1. two. [Marshall 1937:77] *Sorrowfully, the little missionary led his flock back to the intricacies of... "three-fella coconuts more (=and) two-fella banana 'e savvy makim five-fella altogether."* (pron) 2. they (dual). [Pionnier 1913:186] *Bilong tou fala ia.* [Fletcher 1923:326] *Two feller 'e go where?* [Jacomb 1929:46] *You tell-im out along Court; time you been talk along two feller, two feller e been tell-im you what name?* [Baker 1929:17] *Two fella here 'e steraight...*

tuhat (adj) hot. [Pionnier 1913:112] *IL FAIT CHAUD:* Tou hat. Bislama now has only **hot**, but Tok Pisin retains **tuhat**, with the meaning 'sweat'.

tumas (postmod) too, very. [Pionnier 1913:112] *I col tou mach.* [Jacomb 1914:93] ... *It is common to add a phrase at the end, such as "long way too much"...* [Johnson 1921:15] *My word! Master! Belly belong me walk about too much!* [Alexander 1927:214] *Mouth belong music 'e got plenty teeth too much.* [Baker 1929:17] *Face belong 'im 'e* good *fellow too much.* [Marshall 1937:83] ... *Skin b'long 'im 'e sore too-much ...* [Harrisson

1937:145] Piano: *boxis where man 'e fight 'im white more black feller something along face belong 'im, belly belong 'im 'im 'e talktalk too much, 'e tell 'im out good feller talk.*

tumora (adv) tomorrow. [Pionnier 1913:111] *DEMAIN:* Tou morô (tou mora). [Fletcher 1923:329] *'Im 'e sing out "You wait. Byumby tu-morrer me come talk long you back again. You one --- too."*

Tusde (n) Thursday. [Pionnier 1913:111] *JEUDI:* Tousday.

tut (n) tooth. [Jacomb 1914:98] *Toot (tooth) belong me he sore.* [Fletcher 1923:227] *'Im e no got tooth.* [Baker 1929:17] *One big fella bokus [box], 'e got tooth; time master 'e fight 'him, 'e sing out.*

twante (adj) twenty. [Pionnier 1913:187] *VINGT, 20:* Touaneté.

verigud (adj) very good. [Pionnier 1913:195] *Oumane i very goud, maman bilong hème.* (adv) 2. preferable. [Fletcher 1923:130] *Me think very good you cut him.* Commonly attested in the nineteenth century, it is largely absent from the record in the twentieth century. These attestations apparently represent the last gasp of this form.

vilej (n) village. [Johnson 1921:145] *We bringem presents for big fellow master belong village.*

wain (n) wine. [Pionnier 1913:116] *VERRE DE VIN:* Glasse bilong ouaïne.

wait (adj) white. [Pionnier 1913:110] Solouara ouaïte, *mer blanche.* [Harrisson 1937:145] Piano: *boxis where man 'e fight 'im white more black feller something along face belong 'im, belly belong 'im 'im 'e talktalk too much, 'e tell 'im out good feller talk.* [Harrisson 1937:145] *Blak e fite, white e frite ...*

waitfala (adj) white. [Marshall 1937:315] *One wonders what the kanakas think of the "white-fella Masta's" astonishing diversity of doctrine ...*

waitman (n) European. [Fletcher 1923:327] *White man where 'e look out store long Liro.* [Baker 1929:137] *Three white man here, 'e want stop seven days along Lake.* [Titayna and Lugeon 1931:31] *Piano: "Bigfallabokis blanwetman i sinout ..."*[Harrisson 1937:328] *You feller go go go, fight 'im white man finish.*

wan[1] (adj) one. [Pionnier 1913:194] *I stap ouane Masta no more.* [Jacomb 1914:95] *Man 'e fight 'im one nail long 'ammer.* [Alexander 1927:214] ... *Altogether catch 'im one bokkis you fight 'im 'e sing out.* [Baker 1929:17] *One big fella bokus [box], 'e got tooth; time master 'e fight 'him, 'e sing out.* [Marshall 1937:83] *The mountainmen told me that "one man n'more (only)" from each of the old villages was possessed of a "devil" which had the power to venture forth and kill other men.* [Harrisson 1937:145] ... *'E good, you give 'im one something along belly belong you me, allsame belly belong you me, 'e no sing out back again.*

wan[2] (aux) want to. [Pionnier 1913:192] *VOULOIR:* Ouane. [Baker 1929:137] *Three white man here, 'e want stop seven days along Lake.* [Fletcher 1923:325] *Me want pay 'im some somethin' longa store long Mis Collins.* Commonly attested during this period, but now invariably expressed as **wante** or **wantem**.

wanem (inter) 1. what. [Pionnier 1913:188] *Ouanème oude ia?* [Jacomb 1914:93] *What name boy 'e make?* [Fletcher 1923:326] *Wha'name Jack? Jack long Liro?* [Baker 1929:21] *Dog 'e kai-kai? What name?* [Marshall 1937:52] ... *"What name samting?" is*

"What is this?" (inter) 2. why. [Jacomb 1914:101] *What name you make 'im all same?* [Baker 1929:21] *What name you want 'im dynamite?* [Marshall 1937:52] *"Wha' name?" = pidgin for "Why?"* [Harrisson 1937:327] *What name you cry out all same, Nugi?* The meaning of 'why' is now invariably expressed as **from wanem**.

Wanesde (n) Wednesday. [Pionnier 1913:111] *MERCREDI:* Ouanesday.

wanfala (adj) one. [Jacomb 1914:99] *You go take 'im one feller something 'e stop along room belong me ...* [Johnson 1921:48] *You go along Mary (woman) belong Master catchem one fellow something he brather belong ackus (axe), pullem he come, pushem he go.* [Alexander 1927:214] *Master 'e catch 'im one feller ackis [axe] ...* [Jacomb 1929:30] *Commandan' belong me feller been go kai kai long ouse belong one feller master.* [Marshall 1937:7] *A grappling-iron I once heard described as "one-fella something blong scratch 'im bottom blong saltwater."*

wantim (aux) 1. want to. [Pionnier 1913:194] *You ouandème i go plèce i goud, long man i goud, long big fala Masta?* [Fletcher 1923:329] *All boy 'e no want 'im Frennich money.* [Johnson 1921:68] *He wantem you, you two fellow, you come along lookem house belong him, you lookem piccaninny belong him, you lookem Mary belong him.* [Harrisson 1937:145] ... *Belly belong me feller 'e sing out, 'e 'ear 'em no good, 'e want 'im kaikai 'e go 'long 'im.* (tr) 2. want. [Pionnier 1913:190] *AIMER:* Ouanedème. [Jacomb 1914:93] *Me no want 'im.* [Baker 1929:21] *Me want 'im small, small something.*

was (tr) wash. [Pionnier 1913:195] *Suppose missionary i ouach naou hèd bilong you long ouata, blad long Jesus i ouach quouik bèl bilong you.*

wasim (tr) wash, wet. [Pionnier 1913:109] *Mi ouashème hèd bilong you.* [Jacomb 1914:96] *WASH.- To wash.* [Fletcher 1923:330] *Salt-water 'e wash 'im Harry.*

waskit (n) beard. [Pionnier 1913:112] *BARBE:* Ouaskite.

wat (inter) what. [Fletcher 1923:326] *Two feller 'e go longa what?* **Wanem** is the only form in modern Bislama, though Solomons Pijin has both **wanem** and **wat**. Bislama **watfo** 'how come?' reflects earlier **wat**.

we[1] (rel) which, who, that. [Fletcher 1923:326] *'oo 'ere boy where Mis Collins 'e bin kill 'im?* [Harrisson 1937:145] Piano: *boxis where man 'e fight 'im white more black feller something along face belong 'im, belly belong 'im 'im 'e talktalk too much, 'e tell 'im out good feller talk.*

we[2] (inter) where. [Fletcher 1923:325] *Goudé, Aboh. You go where?*

wen (sub) when. [Pionnier 1913:193] *When sikine bilong hèm i dèd, bèl bilong hème i go onetap, goud plèce long Big fala Masta ...* [Fletcher 1923:38] *Oh, no, master, me fellow altogether flash more when we have calico (clothes) belong white man.* Now completely lost, and replaced by **wataem** or **wetaem** (or **wanem taem**).

wet (intr) wait. [Fletcher 1923:329] *'Im 'e sing out "You wait. Byumby tu-morrer me come talk long you back again. You one --- too."*

wetaim (inter) when. [Pionnier 1913:192] *QUAND?:* Ouèt taïme.

wetem (prep) with. [Jacomb 1914:102] *Me me go widim you.*

wik (n) week. [Marshall 1937:270] *One week - 'e finish.*

win (n) wind. [Pionnier 1913:110] *LA BRISE:* Smôl fala ouine

windo (n) window. [Jacomb 1914:99] ... *'E stop 'long big feller bokis close up long window.*

winim (tr) beat, defeat. [Fletcher 1923:213] *Me want win 'im you.*

wiswe (inter) why, what about. [Jacomb 1914:101] *WHICH WAY? - Why?* [Fletcher 1923:325] *Which way long Mis Collins? 'Im 'e no stop?* [Fletcher 1923:326] *Which way you no bin tell 'im out?* [Baker 1929:137] *Which way me take 'im calico house belong me, kai-kai belong me, all something belong me along Lake?* This form is also found as **waswe** in Solomons Pijin.

Wiwi (n) French. [Fletcher 1923:328] *Me no sabby talk Frennich. Me no* man oui-oui. Archaic in Bislama, but borrowed into some languages in the Early Pacific Pidgin era.

wof (n) wharf. [Alexander 1927:214] ... *Now one big feller machine [crane] 'e got long feller 'and too much, 'e put 'im along worf.*

wok (intr) work. [Pionnier 1913:184] *I save ouok.* [Fletcher 1923:219] *Me fellow wanta work.* [Marshall 1937:279] *Masta 'e look'im 'e no savvy wok strong.*

wokbaut (intr) walk, visit, be unemployed. [Jacomb 1914:94] *WALKABOUT.- (a) To go for a walk; (b) to go and see one's friends; (c) not to be engaged at any regular employment.* [Johnson 1921:15] *My word! Master! Belly belong me walk about too much!* [Fletcher 1923:325] *Me walk 'bout no more.*

woman (n) 1. woman. [Pionnier 1913:193] *Big fala Masta ia, Masta bilong ol man, ol oumane.* [Jacomb 1914:92] *Woman e go.* [Johnson 1921:186] *He takem plenty pigs; he taken plenty women; he killem plenty men.* [Baker 1929:137] *Me want 'im all man, all woman, all picininny 'e take 'im all something belong me along Lake.* 2. woman (of particular place). [Fletcher 1923:330] *'Im 'e one woman Maré.* (adj) 3. female. [Pionnier 1913:114] *Pig ouamène.* [Marshall 1937:11] ... *At pregnancy the* nemalap-*woman leaves the communal camps with fellow matrons to establish secluded camps, remote in the forest ...*

wota (n) water. [Pionnier 1913:115] *CAISSE A EAU:* Tangue bilong ouata. [Fletcher 1924:166] *You, you look out water 'e boil good.*

wud (n) 1. wood. [Pionnier 1913:195] *I kasèm hèm, i mèkfas long oud ol sème.* [Alexander 1927:215] *'E one feller something belong kai-kai [cut] wood ...* [Titayna and Lugeon 1931:31] *Scie ... "Somfallating blanwetman ygo ycome ycaecayewood.* [Harrisson 1937:145] *Pull 'im 'e come, push 'im 'e go; wood 'e fall down.* 2. stick. [Jacomb 1914:100] *"One wood"; A stick.* [Fletcher 1923:327] *No, 'e bin kill 'im long one wood?* 3. tree. [Pionnier 1913:117] *ARBRE:* Oude.

yam (n) 1. yam. [Jacomb 1914:100] *YAM.- ... A vegetable.* [Fletcher 1924:247] *Ground 'ere 'e no good long yam.* 2. year. [Pionnier 1913:112] *ANNEE:* Ouane iame. [Jacomb 1914:100] *Me sign belong one yam no more.* [Fletcher 1923:328] *Me bin work two* yam *long Ballande.* No longer used to mean 'year', though calques on this have been incorporated into some vernaculars. This usage was widely reported during the plantation era.

yes (int) yes (to an affirmative question); no (to a negative question). [Pionnier 1913:194] *You ouandème i go pleèce i goud, long man i goud, long big fala Masta? Yes.* [Jacomb

1914:103] *Ship he no come yet? ... Yes... 'Im come finish.* [Fletcher 1923:325] *Which way long Mis Collins? 'Im 'e no stop? Yiss.*

yestede (adv) yesterday. [Pionnier 1913:111] *HIER:* Hiesteday. [Fletcher 1923:326] *'Im 'e go yissterdi no more.*

yet (adv) yet. [Jacomb 1914:103] *Ship 'e no come yet?* [Fletcher 1924:121] ... *Monday 'e sleep yet?* [Harrisson 1937:327–328] *'E got plenty man 'e stop along Japan, 'e no dead yet.*

yu (pron) you (singular). [Pionnier 1913:109] *Mi ouashème hèd bilong you.* [Speiser 1913:122–123] *"Well, me, me go." They answer, "All right, you go."* [Jacomb 1914:92] *You go.* [Johnson 1921:48] *You go along Mary (woman) belong Master catchem one fellow something he brather belong ackus (axe), pullem he come, pushem he go.* [Alexander 1927:213] ... *A piano is "bokkis you fight 'im 'e sing out ...*

yufala (pron) you (plural). [Jacomb 1914:92] *You feller go.* [Fletcher 1923:327] *'Im 'e no white man all same you-feller.* [Marshall 1937:40] *How much money 'e stop 'long you-fella?* [Harrisson 1937:328] *You feller go go go, fight 'im white man finish.*

yumi (pron) we (plural inclusive). [Pionnier 1913:186] *Bilong you mi.* [Speiser 1913:78] *Bim by you me catch him.* [Jacomb 1914:92] *You me go.* [Harrisson 1937:145] ... *'E good, you give 'im one something along belly belong you me, allsame belly belong you me, 'e no sing out back again.* [Harrisson 1937:146] *Might you me catch 'im quick time. Might sun 'e dead along road.*

yumitufala (pron) we (dual inclusive). [Fletcher 1923:329] *More better you me two-feller sit down.*

yutufala (pron) you (dual). [Johnson 1921:68] *He wantem you, you two fellow, you come along lookem house belong him, you lookem piccaninny belong him, you lookem Mary belong him.* [Fletcher 1923:170] *One mamma 'e bin carry you two feller more Jack?*

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A PITKERN WORD LIST

ANDERS KÄLLGÅRD

1. PREFACE

HELLO! WATAWE YOU?

I GWEN LEARN YOU FUT AKLEN BIN PUBLISH HA WORD LIST.

This word list is the most exhaustive Pitkern (Pitcairnese) word list compiled so far, with more than 900 entries. It is based on fieldwork done in 1980 but has been revised on several occasions since then. The following lines will give more of the background.

Pitcairn Island is Great Britain's only remaining colony in the South Pacific. It is an isolated volcanic rock inhabited by some 50 people – descendants of the famous Bounty mutineers and their Polynesian women. The language spoken on the island (formerly known as Pitcairnese, now officially Pitkern), is thus of mixed English-Polynesian origin; its grammar is "simplified", its vocabulary contains Polynesian words as well as English archaisms.

The Bounty/Pitcairn saga had fascinated me for many years when, in 1980, I had the privilege of spending three months on the island. It was an exceptional experience, which I have accounted for in the book *Myteristernas ättlingar* (published in Swedish only, see Källgård 1986 in the bibliography following the word list). The then 60 islanders were tremendously hospitable and I was given full support in my linguistic work.

The book *The Pitcairnese language* (Ross and Moverley 1964) was my main source of background knowledge about the local language. *The Pitcairnese language* is based on the fieldwork done by the New Zealander A.W. Moverley, who spent several years on Pitcairn (1948–51) as a schoolmaster. It is thus the standard work on the language spoken on Pitcairn Island.

In 1989 I finished a study on Pitcairnese at the English department, University of Göteborg, Sweden. That study, AKLEN GWEN BU'U YOU'S HEAD, gave a general survey of present-day Pitcairnese, and it contained a word list as an appendix. Among other things, the proposed orthography and the Pitcairnese vocabulary were discussed and analysed in AKLEN GWEN BU'U YOU'S HEAD. It was concluded that Pitcairnese had lost a considerable number of words during the decades that had passed since Moverley's fieldwork. All languages lose words, of course, but in the case of Pitcairnese it was obvious that the process at work was quite rapid – a process of anglicization and impoverishment. Consequently, Pitcairnese seemed to be a "dying" language. If any language was ever worth "saving", this one was: apart from being part of the Pitcairners' heritage, the speaking of it actually makes one feel good! In an effort to raise the status of Pitcairnese, and with the support of the Pitcairn Island

Peter Mühlhäusler, ed. *Papers in pidgin and creole linguistics* No.5, 107–171.
Pacific Linguistics, A–91, 1998.

Council, copies of the word list (titled FUT YOLI NOO BIN LAANE AKLEN?) were distributed on Pitcairn in 1991, to be used there and to be sold on board passing ships.

In 1993, an article based on AKLEN GWEN BU'U YOU'S HEAD was published in *English World-Wide*, without the word list but with some Pitcairnese texts (Källgård 1993).

On 27 March 1996, I was back on Pitcairn and satisfied to witness the Island Council assent to my suggestion that the name of the local language should be "Pitkern". The term "Pitcairnese" (introduced by James Norman Hall, one of the two authors of the famous "Bounty" trilogy, see Hall 1934:62) had been used only by linguists, never by the Pitcairners themselves. It was also decided that Pitkern should be declared an official language. This is planned to happen before the year 2000, and since the language policy will probably be simple and open rather than demanding and restrictive, Pitkern may well become one of the world's few official languages without any spelling convention.

I am very happy to be able to present the Pitkern word list in *Pacific Linguistics*. Naturally, I wish especially to thank the Pitcairners for their invaluable assistance; many others should be thanked, too, but no names will be mentioned in this brief introduction. Needless to say, I alone am responsible for remaining errors and deficiencies – and in case you find some, I would be very glad to know about it, to be able to improve upon future versions.

DAA'S ALL FER NOW. HOORAH!

2. EXPLANATIONS

Each entry in the word list may be preceded by M/(M) and/or †/(†). The meanings of these symbols are as follows:

M = the word is included in Ross/Moverley (1964) and no new information is given here.

(M) = the word is included in Ross/Moverley (1964) but some new information is given here.

Words not preceded by M or (M) are not included in Ross/Moverley ("new" Pitcairnese words).

† = a "dead" word, i.e. it is not known on Pitcairn today.

(†) = the word is known on Pitcairn, but it is seldom or never used (a "passive" word).

Words not preceded by † or (†) are in general use on Pitcairn ("active" words).

Each entry is given in bold capitals, and – if not preceded by † or (†) – it is followed by a phonetic transcription. Then comes an explanation in English, followed by a slanted line (/); thereafter references to earlier citations of the word are given, as well as earlier suggestions concerning the spelling of the word. If a word appears with slashes, such as *fatou/-fatou/* it means that the word can appear as just *fatou* or optionally as the reduplicated form, and *fehailo/-paper/* means that it is OK to say just *fehailo* but also OK to say *fehailo-paper*. So the part within the slashes is optional (but often used). Finally, after two slanted lines (//), the entry is semantically and etymologically classified:

Semantic classification (1-12): 1 = fishes; 2 = birds; 3 = other animals; 4 = plants; 5 = food and cooking; 6 = the sea; 7 = daily work; 8 = holidays, parties, games; 9 = the human body, diseases and senses; 10 = miscellaneous; 11 = abusive and obscene words; 12 = comparative expressions (containing AS). The sub-groups 11 and 12 were not studied by Moverley and have therefore been placed after the other groups.

Etymological classification: "E-words" (originating in English or English dialects) are divided into seven sub-groups, namely Ea (archaisms), Eam (American words), Ed (words from English dialects), Ei (English words which have had their function or signification changed on Pitcairn or by the Pitcairners), Epr (English words whose pronunciation has been much or irregularly changed on Pitcairn or by the Pitcairners), Es (seamen's words), and Es-d (Seventh-Day Adventist words). There are a few compounds with both English and Polynesian roots (EP). "O-words" are other words, Opn words based upon proper names collected by the author (some from Andrew Young (1899–1988) who had written records in addition to his own memory), and Ou words of unknown or disputed origin. The "P-words" are of Polynesian origin and marked off with a P.

Other abbreviations used: AA = Andrews (1944). AdP = Anisson du Perron (1973). AZ = Zettersten (1969). B = born. Cr = Cranwell (a list of Pitcairn plants was compiled by Ms Lucy Cranwell in 1932 – the author obtained a copy from the Auckland Museum). EDD = Wright's English Dialect Dictionary. Expr = expression. IC = Christian (1986). JD = Davies (1851). KBY = Boye Young (1982). k.o. = kind of. LÅG = Göthesson (1984). OED = The Oxford English Dictionary. Pi = statement by a Pitcairner. PM = The Pitcairn Miscellany (published by the Pitcairn Island School). Ra = pers.comm. Dr John Randall of Hawaii (an ichthyologist who studied Pitcairn fish). RM = Ross/Moverley (1964). RY = Young (1894). StE = Standard English. StJ = Professor St John of Hawaii (who compiled a list of Pitcairn plants in 1934 and kept his knowledge up to date through the 1980s).

THE WORD LIST

M **'A'A** [ʌ'ʌ] Leaf stipules, RM gives "stuff like grey cheese-cloth found near the top of the coconut trunk at the base of the fronds". / RM 214. // 4. P.

M **AALIHAU** ['ɑ:lɪ'həʊ] A plant with yellow, sweet-scented flowers, *Bidens mathewsii*. It is endemic to Pitcairn and its size is 60-100 cm. / RM 215. Cr **olli-how**. StJ **ahleehau**. // 4. P, probably. There is a word ari'ihau in Tahitian, but it is a personal name and has no meaning. As far as we know, no person on Pitcairn was ever called Ari'ihau.

(M) † **AA'UU** RM 216: "To peel the outer bark from trees". / RM 216. // 7. P, probably.

(M) (†) **AITEMAITAI** [ˈœɪtəmœɪ'tøj] No good. / RM 214. // 10. P.

M **AKLEN** ['ʌʔlɑ:n] We, us. / RM 214. // 10. Ou, "quite the most mysterious word in Pitcairnese" (RM 164).

M **ALA** ['ʌlʌ] Or. / RM 214. KBY 105 **alla**. // 10. P.

M **ALAA** [ʌ'lɑ:] A hard, black, volcanic rock, formerly used as flint; this is probably the kind of rock which Carter (1967:36) describes as "a dark gray mugearite." / RM 214. // 10. P.

ALBERT ['ælbʌt] (1) In expr. DEAF AS ALBERT ("hard of hearing"). (2) In expr. ROUGH AS ALBERT. / – // 12. Opn, Albert Young (1899-1984) was almost deaf since he suffered badly from the measles as a young boy.

M **ALE-ALE** ['ʌlʌ'ʌlʌ, 'ʌlə'ʌlə] Red-eyed as a result of weeping. / RM 214. Falk-Rønne 1969:236 **ulla-ulla**. // 9. P.

(M) **ALLEN** ['ælɪn] Poor food. / RM 215. KBY 104-5. PM **Allan's knuckles**. // 5. Opn, the word has been used since the day when Allen Christian (1879-1960), being disappointed with the dinner (which consisted either of boiled bananas and salt or boiled kumaras and raisins – there are different versions), said "Where's the food we're about to receive" instead of "Bless the food we're about to receive" in the grace (where's and bless rhyme when pronounced in Pitkern: [wes] – [bles]).

M **ALL-HANDS** [ɔ:l'hæənz] Everyone, the whole community. / RM 215. // 10. Es. Colcord 1945:93. Also used on Tristan da Cunha (AZ 104).

M **ALL-HEM** [ɔ:l'hem] Everyone (1st and 2nd persons not included). / RM 215. // 10. Ei, probably from English them all.

ALLIGATOR ['ælɪ'geɪtʌ] Avocado pear, *Persea americana* (StJ). See PEAR below for a synonym. / Cr **aligata pea**. Clune 1964:207 **alligator pear**. // 4. Eam, probably.

(M) **ALWYN-GRASS** ['ælwɪn'grɑ:s] k.o. high, rank grass introduced from Mangareva, *Sorghum sudanense*. BROOM-GRASS and BROOM-STRAW below are synonyms. / RM (225) incorrectly gives **Elwyn-grass**. // 4. Opn, named after Alwyn Warren (b. 1895).

M **'AMA'ULA** ['ʌmə'ulʌ, 'ʔʌmʌ'ʔulʌ] Clumsy. / RM 215. Sanders 1959:289 **uma ola**. IC 59 **umer-u-lar**. // 10. P.

M **'AM'U** [ɑ:m 'ʊə, ʔɑ:m'ʔʊ] k.o. fern, *Polypodium pitcairnense*, and probably other species of *Polypodium* as well. When roofs were thatched formerly, the midrib of this fern was used and also referred to as 'AM'U; nowadays, the roofs are made of corrugated iron. / RM 215. StJ **amo, amo'a** (*Nephrolepis hirsutula*), **ahmu** (*Phymatodes scolpendria*), **am'ou** (*Phymatodes sylvaticum*). // 4. P.

M **AN** [ʌn] One, in final positions like in A BAD'AN (="a bad one"). It seems appropriate to use an accent before AN, to show that it "belongs to" the

preceding word; if that word ends with a vowel, an "intrusive j" may occur. / RM 215. // 10. Epr.

(M) **'ANA** [ʌ'nʌ, ʌ'nʌx] A bench-like seat with a JOLO (grater for sweet potatoes etc.) at one end, and a grater for coconuts at the other end; to grate a coconut. / RM 215. // 5. P.

'ANE [ʌ'nI] k.o. fish: a species of threadfin, *Polydactylus sexfilis* (Ra). It is also called MOI. / Falk-Rønne 1969:195 **ana**(?) // 1. Ou.

(M) **ANEI** [æ'neI] A mullet (*Mugilidae*), probably *Chelon vaigiensis*. / RM 215. // 1. P.

M **ANY** ['enI] Anybody. The word has preserved its English meaning, too. / RM 215. // 10. Ei.

APAHAMA ['ʌpʌ'hʌmʌ] Said about ships that are really close to land. / – // 6. Ou, probably connected with a place-name containing the word hammer, originally.

M **APE** [ʌ'pe] The giant taro, *Alocasia macrorrhiza*. / RM 216 (gives Beechey's **appai, yappai, yappe**). Peard 78 **appe**. Gardeners' Chronicle **yappa**. PM **api**. // 4. P.

(M) **APPLE** ['æpəl] Short for (1) APPLE-PLUN, (2) pineapple, (3) ROSE-APPLE, (4) MOUNTAIN-APPLE. / RM 216. // 4. Ei.

APPLE-BREAD ['æpəl'breəd] Buns or bread containing pieces of pineapple. / PM. // 5. Ei.

(M) **ARCHIE** ['ʌ'tʃe] A small, light greyish fish, *Pseudolabrus fuentesi* (Ra). / RM 216. // 1. Opn, Archibald Warren ("Archie", b. 1887, died in New Zealand) was the first to catch one.

M **A'U** [ˈʌ'ʔʊ] Part of the insides of the crab, used for rubbing bait for the NANWE fish. / RM 131, 216. // 3. P.

(M) (†) **AUNT** [ɑ:nt] A familiar title, not necessarily indicating relationship. / RM 216. // 10. Ed.

(M) **AUNTIE-AND-ANN** [ˈotI ˈen'en] A small red grouper, *Cephalopholis urodelus* (Ra). This fish is also called MATAPU'U. / RM 216. // 1. Opn, "Auntie" (= "Otty", Rosalind Young, 1853–1924) and "Ann" (Mary Ann McCoy, 1851–1937) were the first islanders to get this fish on their share. Even today, the common haul is distributed "by chance", so that the islanders do not know what pile of fish they will get.

(M) **AUSTIN-BIRD** [ˈɔ'stenˈbɛ:d] The red-footed booby, *Sula sula rubripes*. It is also called TAI-TAI. / RM 217. // 2. Opn, named after Austin Young (b. 1878).

(M) † **AUSTIN-GRASS** Hilo grass. RM 217: "given as *Paspalum conjugatum* by Williams". / RM 217. // 4. Opn, certainly, but the word was not recognised on Pitcairn in 1980.

(M) **AUTE** ['ote] k.o. tree, the Chinese mulberry (*Broussonetia papyriferia*), the inner bark of which was used for making TAPA. There are none or very few AUTE left on Pitcairn. / RM 217. Peard **owtee**. Belcher **ante**. Buffett 1846:27 **auti**. Cr **outee cloth**. RY 66. Young 1891:298 **outy**. // 4. P.

(†) **BAABA** [bɑ:əbʌ] A children's game in the old days. / – // 8. Ou.

(M) (†) **BABLEHULU** ['bʌbʊ 'hulʌ, 'bʌblə'hulə] Fall/en/ to pieces. "Same idea as MAULO, but worse. BABLEHULU is how I would describe a head-on collision" (Pi). / RM 217. // 10. P.

BABY-BASKET ['beɪbɪ'bɑ:skɪʔ] The smallest type of souvenir-basket made by the islanders. / – // 7. Ei.

(M) (†) **BACH** [bæətʃ] Cottage. / RM 217. // 10. Ed(?).

BAIL [baɪl] To put something on a sore place to make it heal better. / – // 9. Ei, compare English boil.

M **BALL**[1] [bɔ:l] The game of rounders. / RM 217. // 8. Ei.

(†) **BALL**[2] [bɔ:l] In expr. OUT ON HA BALL = "on the horizon", of a ship that is far out (HA BALL = "the horizon"). One islander gave the variant OUT ON HA BALD. / – // 6. Ei, probably.

M (†) **BALL**[3] [bɔ:l] In expr. A LOST BALL = "a ship that does not call". / RM 240. Shapiro 1936:212 **los' bawl**. // 6. Ei, probably.

M **BANANA** [bə'nɑ:nʌ] Specific k.o. banana, *Musax paradisiaca*, also called COOKING-BANANA. It is either cooked or dried before it is consumed. / RM 217. // 4. Ei.

BANG [bæəŋ] Beat, hit, pound, strike. / – // 7. Ei(?).

† **BANTHORN** A forgotten name for *Lycium sandwicense*? / Cr. // 4. Ou.

(M) (†) **BARBER'S-SHOP** ['bɑ:bʌ'ʃɔp, 'bɑ:bʌsʃɔp] The general shop on a liner. The word is not much used nowadays, since very few passenger ships call. / RM 217. // 6. Ei.

BARGAIN ['bɑ:gen] Pretend. / – // 10. Ei.

BASKET ['bɑ:skɪʔ] In expr. LEAK AS A BASKET ("leak very much", said of a LONGBOAT). See DREW below for a synonym. / – // 12. Ei(?).

(M) **BAUT** ['baut, 'bauət] Where. / F Christian 1938 **bout**. RM 214 **about**. RM 217. // 10. Ei.

† **BEACH-PARRELS** A Pitcairn plant (Cr). Nobody knows the word on Pitcairn today. / Cr. // 4. Ou.

(M) † **BEACH-WOOD** k.o. tree (*Xylosma suaveolens ssp. haroldi*) also named SHARK; neither the words nor the tree seem to have survived on Pitcairn. / RM 218. StJ **sharkwood, sharkweed**. // 4. Ei, probably.

M **BEAK** [bi:k] In expr. WANT A BEAK FER EAT IT, used for something unpalatable. / RM 227. Shapiro 1936:212. // 5. Ei.

(M) **BEARD-FISH** [bɪ'ʌd'fɪʃ] *Mulloides flavolineatus*, called goatfish in Australia. / RM 217. / 1. Ei, different kinds of fish have been called beardie or beard-fish in different parts of the English-speaking world.

M **BED** [beəd] To be about to settle down for the night, used of chickens e.g. / RM 217. // 10. Ei.

M **BED-TICK** ['bed'teɪk] Mattress. / RM 217. // 10. Ei.

M **BEHIND** [bɪ 'haɪən] When it is blowing from the south, it is blowing from BEHIND. / RM 217. // 6. Ei.

BELL-FLOWER [bel'flaʊwʌ] k.o. bush with small, red, bell-like flowers. / – // 4. Ei, probably.

BELLY ['bæ:lɪ] Stomach. / Ford 1980:20 **bally**. // 9. Ed, probably Scottish.

M **BEMBE** [bem'beə] (1) So that not. (2) If. Thus, BEMBE is used for future reference, and variants are widely spread throughout the Pacific (see Todd 1974:17 and Clark 1979:10-11). / RM 220. IC 59 **bembee** for "in case". // 10. Ei, from English by and by.

BENNY-FRUIT ['benɪfru:t] k.o. tree with good-tasting fruits that look like beans. / – // 4. Opn, there was a "Benny" on the island in the 1880s (see Young 1900: note in her diary, Dec. 1, 1883).

† **BIAMPREE-CREEPER** A Pitcairn plant (Cr), probably the creeping oxalis (*Oxalis corniculata*), possibly *Clitoria*. Nobody knows the word on Pitcairn today. / Cr. StJ **beauprie creeper**. // 4. Ou.

BIBLE-BOX ['baɪbəlbɔ:əks] Special k.o. souvenir, often made of MIRO. / Källgård 1986:192. // 7. Ei.

M **BIG** [bɪg] In expr. MAKE BIG ="show off, make important". / RM 217. // 10. Ed.

BIG-BEANS ['bɪg'bɪənz] k.o. large beans, probably Lima bean (*Phaseolus lunatus*). / – // 4. Ei.

BIG-BUBBY ['bɪg'bʌbe] A disease that affects goats. / Shapiro 1936:316. // 3. Ei.

BIG-CRACK ['bɪg'kræk] In expr. like YOU UNI MAKING BIG-CRACK, YOU'S UNI BIG-CRACK, meaning "you're only talking about it, not doing it". / – // 10. Ei. Colcord 1945:60 gives "A term of approval of ship or crew" for crack.

M **BIG-EYE**[1] [bɪ 'gøj] A small rockfish with large eyes, possibly *Priacanthus*. / RM 218. // 1. Ei, probably.

(M) **BIG-EYE**[2] [bɪ 'gøj] Short for big eye tuna (*Thunnus obesus*), a big deep-water fish, not to be found shallower than 100 fathoms. / RM 218. // 1. Epr.

(M) † **BIG-GRASS** [bɪg 'grɑ:s] k.o. high grass. / RM 218. // 4. Ei, probably.

(M) (†) **BIG-JACK** [bɪg 'dʒæk] k.o. shrub, *Sida rhombifolia* (StJ). / RM 218. // 4. Opn, but no one remembers what Jack.

M **BIG-KNIFE** [bɪg 'nœɪf] Sheath-knife. These are almost always worn by the islanders. About half of the knives are of the Swedish Mora type, and about half of them are from Bahco, Enköping, Sweden. / RM 218. // 7. Ei.

(M) **BIG-MOUTH** [bɪg 'maʊwəθ, 'bɪg 'maʊs] A small fish, a blenny related to UHUA. / RM 218. // 1. Ei.

M **BIG-SHIP** ['bɪg 'ʃep] A passenger liner. / RM 218. PM January 1970. // 6. Ei.

(M) † **BIG-SURF** Someone in authority, according to RM 218. Nobody knows that meaning on Pitcairn today. / RM 218. Sanders 1959:290 claims that **big suff** ("somebody") is a typical example of a saying which has meaning only within the family. // 10. Ei.

M **BIG-TREE** [bɪg 'tri:ə] The banyan, *Ficus prolixa*. / RM 218. Murray 1857:354. Young 1891:303. // 4. Ei.

(M) (†) **BIG-WATER** [bɪg 'wɔ:tʌ] The open sea. / RM 218. // 6. Ei.

BIINI-CABBAGE ['bi:ne'kæbɪdʒ] k.o. cabbage, *Brassica*. / – // 4. Opn, it was first grown by Bernice ("Biini") Christian (born in 1899).

(M) **BIINI-FLOWER** ['bi:ne'flaʊwʌ] The coreopsis. / RM 217 gives **Bernie-flower**. // 4. Opn, Bernice ("Biini") Christian introduced it.

BILLY[1] ['bɪle] Short for billy goat, i.e. a male goat. "If it is castrated as small, it becomes a WEDA, if it is castrated when big, it becomes a LEHU" (Pi). / Shapiro 1936:213 **billeh**. // 3. Ei.

BILLY[2] ['bɪle] Any k.o. cooking-pot, for example an electric teapot. / – // 5. Ed, it is short for Australian billy-can.

(M) (†) **BISHE** ['bɪ 'ʃe] He-goat. / RM 218. // 3. Ou, possibly introduced by Niels Oluf Jacobsen (1879-1931), a Dane who settled on the island.

M **BITY-BITY** ['bœɪte 'bœɪte] k.o. shellfish; it is also a place-name. / RM 218. Ross 1958:337 **bitey-bitey**. // 3. Ei, the shellfish has a razor-like protuberance, hence the name.

(M) **BLACK** [blæk] Grey (the word has kept its English meaning, too, but BLACK on Pitcairn is not always as "black" as in English: for example any South Pacific native is called A BLACK MAN (or kanaka)). / RM 218. // 10. Ei.

BLACK-BACK [`blæk'bæk] k.o. orange fish with black back, also called OUT-PICK-PICK. *Xanthichthys*, possibly. / Cf Ross 1958:335. // 1. Ei.

(M) **BLACK-COD** ['blæk'kɔ:d] The grouper *Cephalopholis argus*; thus it is not the same fish as the New Zealand Black-Cod. / RM 219. // 1. Ei.

(†) **BLACK-FERN** ['blæk'fɛ:n] k.o. tree fern, *Cyathea cumingii*. / StJ // 4. Ei.

BLACK-TALE ['blæk'tɑ:lʌ] The most common of the cultivated taros on Pitcairn, *Colocasia esculenta var. antiquorum*. Probably similar to DRY-LAND-TARO. / – // 4. EP.

(M) † **BLACK-WATER** The unbroken sea. The word is not known on Pitcairn today. / RM 219. // 6. Ei, probably.

(M) † **BLOCK** A yam-store. / RM 219. // 7. Ei, probably.

BLOCK-OUT [blɔk 'aʊwət] To be late for something, as in YOU SE BLOCK-OUT HA SCHOOL. See also JUDGMENT below. / – // 7. Ei.

M **BLOOD** [blɑ:d, blʌd] To bleed. / RM 219. // Probably Ed, Scottish.

(M) **BLUE-FREDERICK** ['blu:'fredɪk] k.o. fish, a synonym to PUTUFFEHAILO below. / RM 227. // 1. Opn, after Frederick ("Fred") Christian (1883-1971).

M **BOL** [bɔl] Flaccid, in expr. like YOU'S HORN SE BOL (="you're not so keen now") and MY'S HORN SE BOL (="I'm fed up"). For HORN, see below. / RM 219. // 9. P.

M **BOLE** [bu:l] To make a small hole, e.g. in a shell when making necklaces. / RM 219. // 7. Ed (Scottish).

(M) **BOLT** [boʊ] The place where you cook over open fire in the Pitcairn kitchens. / RM 219. PM **bout**. // 5. Ei.

(M) **BONA-BONA** ['bɔnʌ 'bɔnʌ] Hard and knobbly, esp. of sugarcanes which have a lot of joints with very little space between them. / RM 219 gives **bony-bony** for BONY-BONY below and gives Wiltshire's **bonah bonah**, meaning "lumpy" as a variant. // 7. Ou – if it is not just another way of pronouncing BONY-BONY.

M **BONY-BONY** ['bone 'bone, 'bonɪ'bonɪ] Very thin; full of bones (of fish). / RM 219. Sanders 1959:288 **boney boney**. // 5. Ei.

BOOT [boət] The "bark" or "skin" of a banana plant. Pieces of curved, green BOOT can be used as plates; the brown, withered BOOT is a good material for making tails for kites (see TAIL below). / – // 4. Ou, English boat is a possible origin, or Tahitian pota'a ("circular, curved", AA 125).

BOP [bɔʔp] In expr. BOP FER SOMETHING ("give a hint that you want something, beg indirectly"). / KBY 105. // 10. Opn, Thursday October Christian II (1820-1911) had a son who was nicknamed "Bopper".

BORN [bɔ:n] Happen, in expr. like NO SE BORN YET ("it hasn't happened yet") / – // 10. Ei(?).

BOSE ['bɔ:se] In expr. YOU SAME AS BOSE, said to someone who does something differently from others. / PM **Bossy**. // 12. Opn, "Bose" was the nickname of Melville Christian (1897-1973), who lived more or less like a hermit. Sometimes he was called "Melville Bose Sose Consumption Christian"! Originally, bose is short for boatswain (Colcord 1945:81).

(†) **BOSSES-AND-DOGS** ['bosən'dɔ:əg] A name for the telephone system with two networks (one for island officeholders, one for everybody else) earlier used on the island. Now there is one single network. / Howard 1983:517. // 10. Ei.

M **BOSUN-BIRD** ['bosən·bɛ:əd] The red-tailed tropic-bird, *Phaethon rubricauda melanorhynchus*. / RM 219 gives **boatswain-bird**, but Pitcairn's lawbook gives bosun-bird. // 2. Es, see e.g. Colcord 1945:37.

BOTTLE-NECK ['bɔtl'nek] k.o. yam (*Dioscorea*), "it shapes like a bottle" (Pi). / – // 4. Ei.

(M) (†) **BRAD** [brʌd] Brother, friend. See BROTHER below. / RM. // 10. Epr, short for English brother.

BREAD [breəd] Short for breadfruit. *Artocarpus altilis*. 'URU below is a synonym. / – // 4. Ei.

BREAD-STICK ['bredstɪʔ] k.o. popular Pitcairn snack, a hard biscuit shaped like a drumstick. / – // 5. Ei.

(M) † **BREAK-BREAK** Broken. / RM 220. // 10. Ei, probably.

M **BREAKFAST** [brek'fes] Lunch, or "brunch". / RM 220. // 5. Ei, the islanders usually eat only two meals a day.

BREAK-NECK ['brek'nek] k.o. insect, "it is a beetle and it likes the vegetable garden where it sucks the vegetable" (Pi). / – // 3. Ei, probably.

† **BROOM-GRASS** A forgotten synonym to ALWYN-GRASS. / Maiden 1901. // 4. Ei, probably.

BROOM-STICK ['bru:m'stɪʔ] k.o. plant; its leaves are very good to boil and eat. Probably *Bidens pilosa*. BROOM-STUFF is a synonym. / – // 4. Ei, probably.

† **BROOM-STRAW** A forgotten synonym to ALWYN-GRASS. / Cr. // 4. Ei, probably.

(M) (†) **BROOM-STUFF** ['bru:m'stʌf] A forgotten synonym to BROOM-STICK. / RM 220. // 4. Ei, probably.

(†) **BROTHER** ['brʌdʌ] Term of address, not indicating relationship (in modern Pitkern, the word has its English meaning). See BRAD above. / Johnson 1934: "They address one another as 'brother' and 'sister'." // 10. Es-d(?).

BRUTE ['bru:ət] In expr. AS A BRUTE, which is very common; it seems that almost any word fits in before AS. / KBY 98. // 12. Ei, an extended use of English brute: OED (colloq.) "...often merely a strong term of reprobation or aversion, and sometimes extended to things."

M **BUBBY** ['bʌbɪ] Breast, teat. / RM 220. // 9. Ea.

(M) **BUGGER**[1] ['bʌgʌ] Fellow; it can also be used for almost any thing or person, and it is not considered "dirty". / – // 10. Es: "To people who speak by the dictionary, this is a highly obscene word, but as used by sailors, it carries no shade of its actual meaning. It is seldom used as a term of address, but rather of reference, in telling stories; and it carries about the meaning of fellow or rascal" (Colcord 1945:43).

(M) † **BUGGER**[2] In expr. LITTLE BUGGERS AFLOAT ="doughnuts". / RM 220. // 5. Ei.

M **BUHI** ['bʊ'hɪ] Moray eel, *Muraenidae* (Ra). / RM 220. // 1. P.

BULB-TALE ['baʊl'tɑ:lʌ] The most common type of taro on the island. It grows wild and is considered a good taro, because you don't have to look after it. / – // 4. EP.

BULL [bʊl] To fool somebody, to lie. / – // 10. Ea, OED gives as obsolete "To make a fool of, to mock; to cheat."

M **BUM** [bʊm] Bloomers. / RM 220. // 10. Ei.

(M) (†) **BUMP** [bʌmp] Heap, e.g. of dirt or grass. / RM 220. / 7. Ei.

BUMPY-YAM [ˈbʌmpeˈjɑ:m] "A very good yam, it cooks very soft" (Pi). / – // 4. Ei.

BUNKER [ˈbʌŋkʌ] In the cricket expr. GO FOR A BUNKER, which is shouted by the batsmen when they decide to give a ball a go. BUNKER is a place-name (RM 174), and if it is a good hit, the ball may reach that place. / Clune 1966:216. // 8. Opn, Bunker was a man who came to Pitcairn in 1828 and died soon thereafter.

BURST [bʌs] A common word, used in expressions such as HA MAN BURST YOU'S PANTS, said to someone who caught no fish. / Ford 1980:73 (=PM Oct 1965) **busted up**. IC 59 **bussup** ("broken in pieces") // 10. Ei.

BUSH [bʊʃ] A dish: cooked leaves from BROOM-STICK and WHITE-STUFF. / – // 5. Ei.

M (†) **BUTTER** [ˈbʌtʌ] A wrapped pound of butter. / RM 220. // 5. Ei.

(†) **BUTTER-FISH** [ˈbʌtəfɪʃ] A synonym to NANWE below. / – // 1. Ei, probably.

M **BUTTON** [ˈbʌʔn] Latch; to latch. / RM 220. // 10. Ea.

M **BUTTON-DOOR** [ˈbʌʔnˈdɔ:ə] Door with a latch on it. / RM 220. // 10. Ei.

(M) **BU'U** [ˈbʊʔʊə] A lump or swelling; to cause a lump or swelling, e.g. IF YOU GO HOME WRITE CACK ABOUT PITCAIRN I GWEN BU'U YOU'S HEAD. / RM 220. // 9. P.

CABBAGE-TREE [ˈkæbɪdʒˈtri:ə] The tree heliotrope (*Tournefortia argentea*). / LÅG 10. // 4. Ei, a transfer (it is not the New Zealand cabbage tree).

CACK [keɪək] "Shit". / – // 11. Ed (or possibly Ea?).

CALL-OUT [ˈkɔ:lˈaʊwət] Shout. / – // 10. Ei.

† **CANADIAN CREEPER** A plant recorded by Cranwell in 1932. Nobody knows the word on Pitcairn today. / StJ. Cr, her handwriting is difficult to read: it could be **canadran creeper**, with the variant **camodhara creeper**. // 4. Ou.

M **CANDY** [ˈkænde] Sweets. / RM 221. // 5. Eam.

CANOE [kʌˈnu:] Small private fishing-boat, nowadays usually made of plywood and equipped with an outboard engine. Only Andrew Young was still paddling in 1980. / – // 6. Ei.

M **CANT** [kænt] To lean. This word may be considered as English, but has been included here since it was included in Ross/Moverley's glossary. / RM 221. // Ed(?).

M **CAPPING** ['kæpɪn] Roof-capping. / RM 221. // 10. Ea.

CAPSIZE [kʌp'sœɪəs] To fall, to upset anything. / – // 10. Es.

M **CARVING-KNIFE** ['kɑ:wɪn'nœɪəf] A knife designed for carving wooden curios. / RM 221. // 7. Ei.

† **CASTA-VINE** A plant recorded by Cranwell in 1932. The castor-oil plant, *Ricinus communis*? / Cr. // 4. Ei, probably.

M **CAT-FISH** ['kæ?'fɪʃ] Small octopus used as bait. / RM 221. // 3. Ed, this word for "cuttlefish" probably originates in one of the mutineers' dialects. Cat-fish is used for "octopus" on Tristan da Cunha and in South Africa as well (AZ 97).

† **CAT'S-TAIL** k.o. plant (*Sporobolus elongatus*), according to *A Guide to Pitcairn* (1982:21). The word is not known on Pitcairn today, and it is hardly English (cat's-tail in English is *Typha*). / *A Guide to Pitcairn* 1982:21. // 4. Ei, probably.

(M) (†) **CATTLE'S-HORN** ['kætlz'hɔ:n] k.o. banana which does not grow on Pitcairn any longer. / RM 221. // 4. Ed.

CHARLES-AUTE-GRASS ['tʃɑ:lz'əute'grɑ:s] The most common k.o. grass on the island. PULAU-GRASS is a synonym. / – // 4. Opn, named after the place CHARLES-AUTE, but it is difficult to know which Charles it alludes to.

M **CHEQUERS** ['tʃe'kʌs] The game of draughts. / RM 221. // 8. Eam, probably.

M **CHEST** [tʃes] A sea-chest. / RM 221. // 10. Es.

(M) † **CHERRY-TART** The leaves of the tree *Sapindus saponaria*, see SOAP-SEED below. / RM 221. // 4. Ei.

CHICKEN ['tʃɪkɪn] When you hardly touch the ball when batting in rounders or cricket, you MAKE A CHICKEN. / – // 8. Ei, the word may have been arrived at like this: a foul ball→a fowl ball→fowl→chicken. OED: "applied to one who is as timorous or defenceless as a chicken".

(M) **CHICKEN-BIRD** ['tʃɪkɪn'bɛ:d] (1) The Henderson Island crake, *Porzana atra* (=*Nesophylax ater*), which is endemic to Henderson Island. (2) The sooty crake, *Porzana tabuensis tabuensis*, which is sometimes seen on Oeno Island. / RM 222. // 2. Ei.

M **CHINA** ['tʃœɪnʌ] k.o. banana. / RM 222. Young 1891:298 **China plantain**. // 4. Ed.

(†) **CHIPS** [tʃeps] Carpenter, at least it is used as a nickname for carpenters. **Chippie** is a variant given to the carpenter on the island in 1980, Jacob Warren (b. 1920). / – // 7. Es.

CHOKO ['tʃo'ko] The cucumber-like fruit of the vine *Sechium edule*. / – // 4. Ed, it is an Australian/New Zealand variant of chocho.

CHOOK [tʃɔ:k] Chicken, hen. / – // 2. Ed, Australian.

CHRISTMAS-BASKET ['kresmes'bɑ:skɪʔ] The Pitcairn equivalent to the Christmas stocking. / Ward. // 8. Ei.

CHRISTY-DRINK ['krɪstɪ'drɪŋʔ] Any hot drink which has been preserved hot in a thermos flask for a long time. / – // 5. Opn, it was a habit of Christy Warren's (1898-1984) to make hot chocolate in the evening, put it in a thermos flask, and drink it the following morning.

† **CLIMBER** A plant (*Morinda umbellata var. forsteri*) reported to grow on Pitcairn and Henderson. The word is not known on Pitcairn today. / LÅG 13. // 4. Ei, probably.

(M) **COCK-** [kɔʔ] Male, of any animal, e.g. COCK-FISH, COCK-WASP. / RM 222. // 3. Ei.

COCK FER ARCHIE'S ['kɔʔfə'ɑ:tʃɪz] In expr. YOU GOT HA FEVER SAME AS HA COCK FER ARCHIE'S, said to someone who has a bad cold. / KBY 105. // 12. Opn, Archibald ("Archie") Warren (b. 1887, died in New Zealand) had a cock who caught a very bad cold.

M **COCKNUT** ['kɔʔ'nɔʔ] Coconut (*Cocos nucifera*). / RM 222 gives a similar pronounciation of "coconut". Marden 1957:749 **coc'nut**. // 4. Epr.

(M) **COCKNUT-CRAB** ['kɔʔnʌʔ'krɑ:b] k.o. crab, "30 cm long, legs like thumbs, reddish; they make holes in coconuts and climb up the trees to eat. You see them on Oeno and Henderson" (Pi). *Birgus latro*. / RM 222 **coconut-crab**. // 3. Ei(?). The name is common in the Pacific, though.

M **COCKSCOMB** [ˈkɔks'ko:m] Hibiscus. / RM 222. // 4. Ei.

COD [kɔ:d, kɔ:əd] The grouper *Epinephelus tauvina* (Ra). / – // 1. Ei.

M **COME** [kʌm] Come on! / RM 222. // 10. Ei.

(†) **CONK** [kɔŋk] k.o. teapot-sized container used for lighting in the days of kerosene. / PM April 1963. Ford 1980:79 (=PM March 1965) gives "old kettles or similar with large wicks of oil". // 10. Ei(?), OED: "An ancient Roman vessel...used for oil, salt, etc."

(M) **COOKING-BANANA** [kʊ'kenbə'nɑ:nʌ] Common name for bananas that you cook: BANANA, FE'I, HAI, OLEI, PURI'INI (even if you cook a CHINA you do

not call it a COOKING-BANANA, because CHINA are usually eaten raw, as they are). / RM 222. // 5. Ei.

M **CORN** [kɔ:ən] Maize. / RM 222. // 4. Eam.

M **COUNT** ['kaʊwənt] (1) Important, as in ENT A COUNT'AN (="that one is not important"); (2) Think, as in I COUNT I GWEN (="I think I'll go"). / RM 222. // 10. Ei.

(M) (†) **COUSIN** ['kʌsn] Any close relative. This use is widespread in the Pacific. / RM 222. // 10. Ea(?).

(M) **COW-GRASS** ['kəʊ'grɑ:s] A creeper, *Cyperus* (*C. haematodes*?), also called WATER-GRASS in the old days. / RM 222. // 4. Ei, the plant was introduced from Mangareva as cattle-food.

M **CRACK** [kræk] Chasm. / RM 223. // 10. Ea.

CRAZY ['kreIse] To make crazy: HA BATH MUSA CRAZY ME. / – // 10. Ei.

† **CREEPING-WEED** A plant recorded by Cranwell in 1932. Nobody knows the word on Pitcairn today. / Cr. // 4. Ei, probably.

(†) **CROCUS-STUFF** ['krɔ:kəstʌf] A 40-100 cm high pantropical grass, the chaff-flower (*Achyranthes aspera*). / This Pitkern name was reported by St John in 1934. // 4. Ei, probably.

† **CROW'S-FOOT** A forgotten synonym to DOG-GRASS. / *A Guide to Pitcairn* 1982:21. // 4. Ei, probably.

M **CUT** [kʌt] A gap in the rocks. / RM 223. // 10. Ei.

(M) **CUTE** [kju:t] Shy. / RM 223. // 10. Ed.

M **DAA** [dɑ:] That. / RM. Young 1891:307 **da't**. IC 58 **dars-et** for "that's it". // 10. Epr.

(M) † **DAAT** In expr. OLD DAAT ="England", given by RM. / RM 223. // 10. Ou.

DAD-DAD ['dæ'dæd] Grandfather. / KBY. // 10. Ei, though the reduplication may be a Tahitian phenomenon.

(M) **DAFI** ['dæfI] That way. "A women's word" (Pi). / RM 223. F Christian 1938 **daffy**. Sanders 1959:289 **daffy**. IC 59 **daffy**. // 10. Epr, from English that way.

M **DANE** ['dʌnə] Don't (the imperative). DU below is a synonym. / RM 223. // 10. Ed.

M **DARK**[1] [dɑ:k] To be still working at dusk. / RM 223. // 7. Ei.

M **DARK**[2] [dɑ:k] To become dark, or dusk. / RM 223. Marden 1957:731. // 10. Ei.

(M) **DAVID-SHELL** ['deɪwed'ʃel] k.o. shellfish resembling rock-oyster. / RM 223. // 3. Opn, it was named DAVID-SHELL because David Young (1876-1946) was the first islander to show any interest in it: he picked the shells, cleaned them, and painted them to sell them on visiting ships. The shell is not used nowadays.

† **DAVY** The sea. / One line in G.H. Nobbs' paean for Pitcairn, "Fenua Maitai", written around 1850, reads "When the 'Davy' recedes from the shores of Tahtama" (Murray 1857:355). Nicolson 1965:63 gives **Davey**. // 6. Es. Colcord (1945:63): "Many sea superstitions involve Davy Jones, the goblin of the deep".

(M) (†) **DECK** [dɪʔ] Floor. / RM 223. // 10. Es.

(M) **DEEP-SEA-COD** ['di:p'si:'kɔ:d] This fish is mostly called GREY-COD or OUT-COD; "it is found at a depth of between 60 and 140 fathoms" (Pi). *Serranidae*, probably. / RM 223. // 1. Ei.

DEERING ['dɪəˑrɪŋ] k.o. sweet potato, *Ipomoea batatas*. / – // 4. Opn, it was brought by a Mr. J.W. Deering, in or around 1959.

(M) **DEFI** ['defɪ] This way. / RM 223. Sanders 1959:289 **diffy**. IC 59 **deffi**. // 10. Epr, compare DAFI above.

M **DELICATE-SHELL** ['deləket'ʃel] k.o. shell-fish with a soft shell. / RM 224. // 3. Ei.

(M) **DEM** [dem, hem, em] They; them. Also used as the definite article in the plural. / RM. KBY 104 **hem**. // 10. Ei, it is English them.

† **DEPPHI** k.o. bush reported to grow on Pitcairn in 1932. Possibly *Angelonia grandiflora*. The word is not known on Pitcairn today. / Cr. // 4. Ou.

(M) **DEVIL-FISH** ['devəl'fɪʃ] Stingray. / RM 224. // 1. Eam, probably.

M **DEVIL'S-NEEDLE** ['devəlz'ni:dəl] Dragon-fly, *Pantala flavescens*. / RM 224. Young 1891:303 **devil's darning needle**. // 3. Ed.

DICKY ['dɪke] Haemorrhoids. / – // 9. Opn, Dick ("Dicky") Fairclough lived on Pitcairn in the late 1920s and suffered from haemorrhoids.

DIG [dɪg] Take off the husk of coconuts. / – // 7. Ei, perhaps via English dialect dig (EDD: "To turn op or loosen the earth with a pick or mattock").

DIGGER [dɪ'gʌ] The pointed iron bar used to DIG. / – // 7. Ei, perhaps via English dialect digger (EDD: "a pickaxe").

DIRT-OVEN ['dɔʔtʌvn] The traditional Polynesian earth-oven, hardly ever used nowadays. / – // 5. Ei.

DJEBID ['dʒebɪʔ] k.o. fish. / – // 1. Probably Ed, Scottish jabart (or jaabard), which is "a lean fish of one of the larger kinds, esp. a large, lean cod" (EDD). A former magistrate of the island was nick-named "Jebed" (KBY 167).

M **DJINZI** ['dʒɪnzɪ, 'dʒense] A plant, probably the common turmeric (*Curcuma longa*). / RM 228 **ginger**. Peard 78 **ginger root**. LÅG 25 **yellow djinzi**. // 4. Ei.

M **DOCK** [dɔk] The bird's-nest fern, *Asplenium nidus*. / RM 224. // 4. Ei.

DOG [dɔ:g] In expr. TASTE DOG = "taste bad". / – // 5. Ei.

DOG FER SOPHIE'S ['dɔgfə'so:fɪs] In expr. YOU'S BELLY GWEN BURST SAME AS HA DOG FER SOPHIE'S, said to someone who eats a lot. / – // 12. Opn, Sophie Warren (née Christian, 1889-1949) had a puppy whose stomach actually burst, according to some islanders.

(†) **DOG-GRASS** ['dɔ:'grɑ:s] The goose grass, *Eleusine indica*. CROW'S-FOOT is a forgotten synonym. / LÅG 18. // 4. Ei, probably.

DONE [dɔn] Finish/ed/, in phrases like YOU I SE DONE? (="Are you finished?"). / Ball 1973:227 **dona**. // 10. Ei.

DORCAS ['dɔ:kʌs] In expr. YOU SAME AS DORCAS, said to someone who stumbles or falls. / PM. // 12. Opn: Dorcas (b. Christian in 1873; Allen Christian's wife) once stumbled, stepped on a plate, and smashed it. This happened on the deck of a ship.

DORCAS-FLOWER ['dɔ:kʌs'flaʊwʌ] k.o. yellow flower (*Cassia*), "just a few left on the island, the plant grows up to a tree very similar to the Australian water-tree" (Pi). / *Pitcairn Log*, June 1981:15. // 4. Opn, Dorcas (b. Christian in 1873) was Allen Christian's wife.

† **DOTTAH** k.o. fish, according to Ball. I was not able to confirm this on the island (short for WHISTLING-DAUGHTER?) / Ball 1973. // 1. Ou.

† **DOUBLE-COTTAGE** The name for the two-storeyed wooden houses in the old days. / Bennett (1840:28): Pitcairn buildings that "possess an upper-room, which communicates by a ladder with the one beneath." // 10. Ei.

(M) † **DOWLY** A place-name, given by RM. / RM 224. // 10. Opn (?).

(M) † **DOWN-BEHIND** A place-name, given by RM. / RM 224. // 10. Ei.

M **DOWNSIDE** ['dəʊn'saɪwɪd] Under, below. / RM 256. // 10. Ei.

DOWN-YONDER ['dəʊn'jɔnʌ] To the south, towards New Zealand (about ships). / KBY 104 **down yenda**. // 6. Ei.

M (†) **DREAM-FISH** ['dri:m'fɪʃ] A synonym to NANWE below. / RM 224. // 1. Ei, the name is due to the fact that eating this fish, when boiled, is said to cause nightmares.

DREW [dru:] In expr. LEAKY AS HA DREW ("very leaky") / – // 12. Opn, after a LONGBOAT named "Drew", see RY 213, Ford 1980:30.

M **DRY** [drœɪ] Unremunerative (usually applied to visiting ships with which trade has not been very good). / RM 224. // 6. Ei.

(M) **DRY/-DRY/** ['drœɪ'drøj] Unpalatable. / RM 224. // 5. Ei.

(†) **DRY-LAND-TALE** ['drœɪlʌn'tɑ:le] k.o. taro reported to have grown on Pitcairn in 1934. Probably a synonym to BLACK-TALE above. / StJ. // 4. Ei, probably.

M **DU** [dʊə] Don't (the imperative). DANE above is a synonym. / RM. // 10. Epr.

M **DUB** [dʌb] To square and smooth timber, to plane. / RM 224. // 7. Ea.

(M) † **DUBBON** In expr. TO GO UP DUBBON ("to go back to Pitcairn"); not known on the island today. / RM 223. // 10. Ou.

(M) (†) **DUD'A** ['dʌdʌ] A baulk of timber used in the first part of the process of making TAPA. Few islanders remember this word, since no TAPA has been made on the island for many years. / RM 223. RY 149: **dood-a**. // 7. P.

M **DUDWI** ['dʊdwe] The candle-nut tree, *Aleurites moluccana*. / RM 224 (Beechey **doodoe**). Peard 78 **doodowy** (gives Banconda nut as a synonym). RY 66 **doodooee**. // 4. P.

M **DUMAIN** [dʊ'mœɪən] It doesn't matter. / RM 224-5. IC 59 **do-mine**. // 10. Ei, it is DU above + mind.

M **DUNG** [dʌŋ] Compost, esp. from sugarcane; leaf mould. / RM 225. // 7. Ed.

M **DUNNEKIN** ['dʌn'ken] Lavatory. / RM 225. Ball 1973:228 gives **dunkun**. // 10. Ed, though some islanders claim the word is after a sea-captain called Duncan.

(†) **EASTER-VINE** [i:stə'wœɪjn] A plant (*Jasminum didymum*) reported to have grown on Pitcairn in 1934. / StJ. // 4. Ei, probably.

EDDIE ['ede] A dish consisting of green CHINA bananas boiled in coconut milk. / Marden 1957:752. // 5. Opn, named after Edward Christian ("Eddie", 1870-1930). "Once when he came back from Tahiti on a schooner he directly

wanted 'bʌIl tʃœInʌ en ha melk' and that was how the dish got its name" (Pi), though according to Marden 1957:752 China-in-the-milk is not the same dish as EDDIE; see also Marden 1957:754.

EDGE [e:ədʒ] Cliff, precipice. / – // 10. Ei, English with a slight change of meaning.

(M) **EDMOND-FRUIT** ['emʌn'fru:ət] k.o. shrub with small, red, edible berries. It is also called FRENCH-CHERRY. According to LÅG it is *Eugenia uniflora* (Surinam cherry or Brazil cherry in English). / RM 225. // 4. Opn, it is said to have been brought from Tahiti or Mangareva by Edmond McCoy (1868-1929).

(M) **EDMOND-PLUN** ['emʌn'plʌn] k.o. banana, also called PURI'INI. / RM 225. // 4. Opn, it is said to have been brought from Tahiti or Mangareva by Edmond McCoy (1868-1929).

EDNA ['ed'nʌ] In expr. WAIT SAME AS EDNA ("eat last, take food after everyone else") / – // 12. Opn, Edna Christian (b. Warren in 1898) was once very late for a public dinner.

M **EE** ['i:ə] To pick a few from a bunch, to pick one at a time instead of a whole bunch (usually of bananas, which are normally cut by the bunch). / RM 225. // 7. P.

(M) **ELL** [el] Can, be able to. / RM. // 10. Ei, from English will?

(M) **ELWYN'S-TROUSERS** ['elwInz 'trauzez] The name for several wrasses: *Coris* (Ra), possibly also *Halichoeres melasmapomus* (LÅG). / RM 225. PM 1974 **Elwyn's pants**. // 1. Opn, so called because it looked like the trousers Elwyn Christian (1909-1981) happened to wear on the occasion when it was first caught.

M **EME** ['eə'meə] Another name for the tree called MIRO on Pitcairn. / RM 225. Buffett 1846:67 **amai**. // 4. P.

ENA [e'nʌ] Boiled sweet potatoes mashed. / – // 5. Ou, perhaps after some Hannah or Harry?

(M) † **ENGLISH** "Fastidious, esp. about mud". / RM 225. // 10. Ei.

(M) † **ENGLISH-POTATO** The ordinary potato. / RM 225. // 4. Ei.

(M) **ENI** ['ene] Only. UNI below is a synonym. / RM. // 10. Epr.

ENT [ent] An equivalent to ain't, which is a common form in many dialects. / – // 10. Epr.

(M) **ETU** ['Itʊ] Sprouting coconut. / RM 225. KBY 81 **itto**. // 4. P, from Tahitian etu (="a rooter, or the thing that turns up the earth"; "rooting", JD 59.).

M **EYE**[1] [øj] A round piece taken from shellfish and used in the game of pitch-and-toss; it was also called PITCAIRN-MONEY. / RM 252. // 8. Ei.

M **EYE**[2] [øj] With its English meaning, in expr. like YOU'S EYE SE PIL (="you're feeling ashamed"). / RM 225. // 10. Ei.

(M) **FAAFAIA** ['fɑ:faɪjʌ] A rather large, red fish, *Variola louti*. It is called grouper, rock-cod or painted coral bass in English. / RM 225. // 1. P.

FAAT-FAAT ['fɑ:t'fɑ:t] A synonym to WILD-BEANS below. / – // 4. Ei, English fart reduplicated.

FAITU-COD ['fœItə'kɔ:d] k.o. brownish fish, probably *Serranidae*./ – // 1. Ou, possibly a compound of Tahitian faita (="to make grimaces", JD 80) and English cod; or of English fight and cod.

M **FALL** [fɔ:l] A fall to one's death over the cliff. / RM 226. // 10. Ei, transfer.

M **FANIU** ['fɑ:njuə] The whole coconut leaf or frond. / RM 226. // 4. P.

FANNY ['fænI] In expr. like the somewhat odd YOU SHE'S FANNY, said to someone who will not join, or to somebody who is not very smart, or tends to be a coward. MIMI below is a synonym. / KBY 105. // 10. Opn, probably.

(M) **FATA-FATA** ['fʌtʌ'fʌtʌ] A mess, esp. when something is splashed. / RM 226. // 10. P, Tahitian fatafata means "indifferent, the opposite to vigorous and active" (RM 226).

(M) **FATOU/-FATOU**[1]**/** ['fʌtʊ'fʌtʊ] In expr. like YOU SE FATOU ("you have failed"), said e.g. to someone who gets no fish, or capsizes a boat or falls off a motor-cycle. Some islanders consider it a very "dirty" word. / RM 226. // 10. P.

(M) (†) **FATOU/-FATOU**[2]**/** ['fʌtʊ'fʌtʊ] An obscene expr. ("which should never be used"), equivalent to fuck you. Not all islanders agree about this meaning. / – // 11. Epr(?).

† **FAUTU** *Abutilon pitcairnense*, an endemic bush or tree. See RED-FAUTU below. / Peard **fozotoo**. Maiden **yellow fowtoo**. StJ **fautou**. // 4. P.

FEHAILO [fə'haɪlo] In abuses like YOU FEHAILO! ="You idiot!". / – // 11. Ou.

FEHAILO/-PAPER/ [fə'haɪlo'pe:pʌ] Toilet-paper. / Ball 1973:228 gives **fa'hilo**. // 10. Ou, I was not able to confirm Ball's suggestion (1973:228) that

it is far Hilo, since the first toilet-paper came from far away, from Hilo on the big island of Hawaii.

M **FE'I** [fe'ʔi:ə] k.o. red-skinned banana, never eaten raw, the largest kind grown on Pitcairn. It is also called MOUNTAIN-PLUN and when you eat it cooked "it makes you urinate yellow" (Pi). *Musa troglodytarum.* / RM 225. RY 168. Cr **fayee ink wood**. // 4. P.

M **FENCE** [fænz] A fenced enclosure. / RM 226. // 7. Ei, probably (possibly Eam).

M **FENCING-WIRE** ['fænzæn·waɪ'jʌ] Wire netting. / RM 226. // 7. Ei, probably (possibly Eam).

† **FENUA** Land. / Murray 1857:354-5 gives the entire text of G.H. Nobbs' paean for Pitcairn, Fenua Maitai, which is Tahitian for "the good land". // 10. P.

M **FER** [fɛ:] (1) Of (possessive). (2) With (see LONG-FER below). (3) To (infinitive marker). / RM 226-7. F Christian 1938 **fer**. // 10. Ei, it is English for.

(M) **FETUWE** ['fetuwe] k.o. large sea-urchin, with very long spines, found esp. at Henderson Island. Probably identical to the SLATE-PENCIL, both being *Heterocentrotus mammilatus* and/or *H. trigonarius.* (LÅG). / RM 226. // 3. P.

M **FEVER** ['fi:wʌ] Common cold, influenza or the like. / RM 226. // 9. Ei.

FLAT-RUSSELL ['flæʔ'rʌsəl] k.o. sweet potato, sometimes called LATU-TETE. / – // 4. Opn, it was introduced by Russell McCoy (1845-1924).

(†) **FLATTIE** ['flætə] In expr. SAIL SAME AS FLATTIE ("sail very slowly", Flattie is a rock). / Marden 1957:772. // 12. Opn.

(M) (†) **FLOATING-BUGGER** ['flo:tɪŋ'bʌgʌ] Doughnut. / RM 220 gives **little buggers afloat**. // 5. Ei.

M **FLOG** [flɔ:g] To spank. / RM 226. // 10. Es.

(M) (†) **FLOGGING** ['flɔ:gɪn] A spanking. / RM 226. // 10. Es.

M **FLOUR** ['flaʊwʌ] A bag of flour. / RM 226. // 5. Ei.

(M) (†) **FLOWER-TREE** ['flaʊwa'tri:ə] k.o. tree, which blooms around Christmas (*Guettarda speciosa*). It is more often called HIGH-WHITE. / RM 226. // 4. Ei.

(M) † **FLOWER-WOOD** k.o. tree, given as a synonym to TAFANO; neither of these words are remembered on Pitcairn today. / RM 226. // 4. Ei, probably.

FLY-OFF ['flœɪ'ɔ:əf] Very angry. / – // 10. Ei.

(M) † **FOLK** In expr. THE OLD FOLK ="the pre-European inhabitants of the island". / RM 226. // 10. Ei.

FOOL [fʊəl] In expr. YOU SAME AS A FOOL, said to someone who acts foolishly. / – // 12. Ei.

† **FOREFINGER FER MORRIS** In expr. RELIABLE AS HA FOREFINGER FER MORRIS ON ONE RAINY DAY (="unreliable"). / Falk-Rønne 1969:217. // 12. Opn, according to Falk-Rønne, Morris Warren (1906-1984) used to read the time from the sun's reflections on his forefinger; consequently, he was not a reliable time-keeper in rainy weather. However, I was not able to confirm this on the island, and nobody recognised the expression.

M **FOWL'S-ROOST**[1] ['faʊlz'rʊs] Candlestick. / RM 227. // 10. Ei.

FOWL'S-ROOST[2] ['faʊlz'rʊs] In abuses like YOU FOWL'S-ROOST! ="You idiot!" / – // 11. Ei.

(M) **FREDERICK** ['fredɪk] k.o. fish. There are two types of FREDERICK, the GREY-FREDERICK and the BLUE-FREDERICK (= PUTUFEHAILO). Both are about 30-40 cm long. / RM 227. // 1. Opn, after Frederick (Fred) Christian (1883-1971).

FREDFEET ['fredfit, 'fredz'fi:ə?] Very big feet. Many visitors have noticed the big size of the islanders' feet, see e.g. Fullerton 1923:15. / – // 9. Opn, after Fred (Frederick) Christian (1883-1971), who is said to have had extra large feet, even for a Pitcairner.

FREED [fred] Afraid. / – // 10. Epr.

(†) **FRENCH-CHERRY** ['fren'ʃerə] Another name for EDMOND-FRUIT. / LÅG 55. // 4. Ei, probably.

(M) **FRET** [fre?] To worry. / RM 227. // 10. Ei, probably.

(M) (†) **FRIEND** [fren] A person amongst the complement (or crew) of a visiting ship who normally trades only with oneself; an exclusive trading arrangement. The number of "FRIENDS" has, of course, declined dramatically since the days of the regular calls by passenger liners. The last scheduled passenger liner on the route England-New Zealand called in 1968. / RM 228. // 6. Ei.

† **FROM-HONOLULU** The orchid tree, *Bauhinia purpurea*. It is mostly called PINI. / Maiden. LÅG 55. // 4. Ei.

FRY [frœɪ] Fried. / – // 5. Ei.

FULL [fʊl] Fill. / – // 10. Ea. OED gives as obsolete "To make full".

M **FULL-UP** [fʊl'ʌp] Full. / RM 228. // 10. Ed(?).

M **FUT** [fʊt] Why. / RM 228. Sanders 1959:289 also gives the meaning "what". IC 58 gives the variant **fuwa**. // 10. Epr, probably a contraction of English for what.

M **FUTENOOT** [fʊtno:t, fʊ?'nɔ:ət] Why not. / RM 228. IC 58 **foot nort**. // 10. Ei, FUT above + English not.

M **GAGGLE** ['gægəl] To cackle. / RM 228. // 10. Ea, probably.

M **GANNET** ['gɑ:ne?] The masked or blue-faced booby, *Sula dactylatra*. / RM 228. KBY **garnet**. // 2. Ei.

(M) **GEORGE-PO'I** ['dʒɔ:ʒpɔ'?eə, 'dʒɔ:dʒə'pɔ:pe] A small, rough, pointed sea-shell. / RM 228. // 3. Opn, it is not known what George it refers to.

M **GHOST-BIRD** ['gɔ:s'bɛ:d] The Oeno petrel, *Pterodroma ultima*. It is also called LAU./ RM 228. // 2. Ei, the bird is heard only at night – but not often nowadays.

GIRL[1] [gɛ:l] Wife (the word has kept its StE meaning as well). / – // 10. Ed.

GIRL[2] [gɛ:l] In expr. NOT GOOD AS A GIRL ("weak as a weak woman"). HER below is a synonym. / – // 12. Ei.

M **GLENNY-CRAB** ['glene'krɑ:b, 'græne'krɑ:b] k.o. crab. / RM 229 **granny-crab**. // 3. Opn, named after Agnes Warren (née Christian, 1841-1911), who was nicknamed "Glenny" ("Granny"?).

(†) **GOAT** [gɔt] k.o. motorcycle introduced by the American geodetic team in 1968 (the word has kept its ordinary English meaning as well). / PM September 1969. // 10. Ei.

(M) **GOAT-FISH** ['gɔt'fɪʃ, 'gɔ?'fɪʃ] The name for several balistid fishes, and also *Sufflamen bursa* and *Rhinecantus lunula* (Ra). It is called triggerfish in English and is one of the few kinds of fish that are not eaten by the islanders. / RM 228. // 1. Ei.

GOAT'S-PISS ['gɔts'pɪs] k.o. wild plant with small, red berries which are never eaten. It is probably *Portulaca lutea* (LÅG). ICE PLANT below is a synonym. / – // 4. Ei.

(M) † **GOD** "One (or both) of two sets of petroglyphs". / RM 229. // 10. Ei.

(M) (†) **GOD'S-MESSENGER** ['gɔ:dz'me'sendʒə] The pastor. / RM 229. // 8. Es-d.

GO-SCRUB! [go'skrʌb] Abusive exclamation, "like GO-WIPE, but cleaner" (Pi). / – // 11. Ei.

(†) **GO-TIITOI!** [gə'ti:ˑtœɪ] Abusive exclamation, seldom used, since it is considered very "dirty". / – // 11. EP, probably: TIITOI = "masturbate".

GO-WASH! [gʊ'wɔ:ʃ] Abusive exclamation. / – // 11. Ei.

GO-WIPE! [go'wœɪəp] A common abusive exclamation. / PM May 1986. // 11. Ei.

M **GRAIN** ['gre:ən] A long fish-spear. / RM 229. // 7. Es.

(M) (†) **GRANDMA** ['græn'mɑ:] Old woman. / RM 229. // 10. Ei, probably.

(M) † **GRANNY-BONNET** k.o. flower, probably the flower of *Passiflora edulis* or or *P. quadrangularis* or both; the word is not known on the island today. / RM 229. // 4. Ei, probably.

† **GRASS-FROM-TONGA** A pantropical grass, *Oplismenus compositus.* / Maiden 1901. // 4. Ei, probably.

GREY-COD ['greɪ'kɔ:d] k.o. fish also called DEEP-SEA-COD and OUT-COD. / – // 1. Ei.

(M) **GREY-FREDERICK** ['greɪ'fredɪk] k.o. fish, see FREDERICK above. / RM 227. // 1. Opn, after Frederick Christian (1883-1971).

M **GRIPPE** [grɪp] Epidemic stomach trouble. / RM 229. RY 244 **la grippe**. PM January 1977. // 9. Ea(?).

M **GROUND** ['graʊənd] An area of special purpose. / RM 229. // 10. Ei.

(M) (†) **GRUB** [grʌb] Food. WEKL is a more commonly used synonym. / RM 229. // 5. Ed (though Colcord 1945:90 gives "The sailor's term for food in general" – it is difficult to know how the word reached Pitcairn).

GUERNSEY ['gu:nzɪ] A knitted pullover. / – // 10. Es, compare AZ 101. EDD: guernsey is used by fishermen for "a knitted jersey or worsted shirt." OED: a guernsey is "worn by seamen."

GUSE ['gɔ:se] Ghost-like, used e.g. of the weather or of certain places. / – // 10. Epr, it is English ghostly.

(M) **GWEN**[1] [gwen] Going to. / RM. F Christian 1938 **gwen**. Sanders 1959:288 **gwan**. // 10. Epr.

(M) **GWEN**[2] [gwen] To, by, near, beside. / RM 144 gives **gen** for "against". Sanders 1959:288 gives **gen** for "alongside". // 10. Ed(?).

M **HA** [hʌ, hɑ:] The; that. / RM 229. // 10. Epr.

M **HAAGO** [hʌ'gɔ:ə] "Look, here's...", about persons. / RM 229-30. // 10. Ei, from English here goes.

(M) † **HAAWE** Stone artifact. / RM 230. // 10. P.

M **HAI** [hœI] k.o. banana. / RM 230. // 4. Ou.

M **HAIR** [heə] Bad. ES HAIR! = "It's bad!" / RM 230. // 10. Ei.

(†) **HALIMAI** ['hʌlə·møj] (1) "Come and eat!" (2) "Hurry up!" / – // 5. P.

M **HAMI** [hʌ'mi:ə] You and me, you and I. / RM 230. // 10. Epr, it is English thou + me.

M **HAND** [hɑ:n] Hand, arm. / RM 230. // 9. Ei, a calque on Tahitian rima ("the hand, also the arm", RM 230).

M **HANEI** [hæ'neə] A universal tag question, as e.g. in HAMI GWEN FER FISH, HANEI? (="...aren't we?"). / RM 230. IC 59 gives **unay (hunnay)**. // 10. P.

(M) **HANNAH** ['hænʌ] A small fish in the LETAS family, probably *Centropyge hotumatu* or *Stegastes emeryi* (LÅG). / RM 230. // 1. Opn, probably named after Hannah Adams (1800-1864), a daughter of the mutineer John Adams.

(M) **HAPA** ['hʌpʌ] Not well, bad, inefficient, not in level. / RM 232-3. Sanders 1959:288 **huppa**. // 9. P.

(M) **HARBOUR** ['hɑ:bʌ] (1) Any inlet, not necessarily a navigable one. (2) In expr. OUT HA HARBOUR, said of a ship which is outside Bounty Bay. / RM 230. // 6. Ei.

HARD-JASMY ['hɑ:d'dʒesme] k.o. plant, *Canthium barbatum var. christianii f. pitcairnense*. See JASMINE below. / Maiden 1901. StJ **hard jessamy**. See LÅG 75-6. // 4. Ei.

M **HARD-UP**[1] ['hɑ:'dʌp] In a hurry. It can also be used as an imperative, e.g. in running competitions: HARD-UP! ="Hurry up! Go, go, go!" / RM 230. // 10. Es(?).

HARD-UP[2] ['hɑ:'dʌp] Poor. / KBY 167 **hard-up times**. // 10. Es (Colcord 1945:95).

HATCHET ['hætʃe?] In expr. DEAD AS A HATCHET ("stone-dead"). / Marden 1957:731. // 12. Ei, perhaps via the obsolete English expr. To hang up one's hatchet ("to take a rest", OED).

M **HATEI** [hʌ'ti:] Here is, here comes. / RM 230. IC 58 **huttay** for "here it is", // 10. Ou.

† **HATREE-FLOWER** k.o. flower reported by Cranwell in 1932. The word is now forgotten. A synonym to HATTIE below? / Cr. // 4. Ou.

(M) (†) **HATTIE** ['hæte] k.o. tree, *Bauhinia monandra* (or possibly *B. variegata*). See HATTIE-LEAF below. / RM 230. // 4. Opn, after Hattie Andre, who served as a missionary teacher on the island 1893-96.

(M) **HATTIE-LEAF** ['hæte'li:əf] The leaf of the HATTIE. These leaves are often treated in baths, painted, and sold as souvenirs. / RM 230 gives **Hattie** as a kind of tree. // 4. Opn, from the name of Hattie Andre, a missionary teacher on the island 1893-96.

M **HATTIE'S-GOWN** ['hætes'gaʊən, 'hætɪs'goʊn] k.o. slim fish with a lot of stripes. / RM 230. // 1. Opn, the gown of Hattie Andre (a missionary teacher on the island 1893-96) had a lot of stripes, just like the fish.

(M) **HAWA-HAWA** ['hʌwʌ'hʌwʌ] Messy, smelly, dirty; infants' excrements. / RM 230-1. // 10. P.

M **HAWAI** ['hɑ:wœɪ] Guttering for leading rain-water from a roof catchment to a storage cistern. / RM 231. // 10. P.

M **HAWK** [hɔ:ək] The greater frigate-bird, *Fregata minor palmerstoni*. This is one of the few birds you see quite often on Pitcairn; some families even keep them as pets. / RM 231. // 2. Es, short for MAN-OF-WAR-HAWK, originally a nautical word.

HEAD ['hɪəd] To act in a superior manner. / – // 10. Ei.

M **HEAR-TELL** ['jʌ'tæ:l, 'hiʌ'tel] To hear gossip or news of someone or something. / RM 231. Marden 1957:731 **heardsay**. PM July 1970. // 10. Ei.

M **HEAVE** [heʊ] To throw. / RM 231. RY 41. // 7. Es. Colcord 1945:98.

(M) † **HENRY** k.o. fish; no one remembers the word. / RM 231. // 1. Opn, probably.

HENRY-FLOWER ['henrɪ'flaʊwʌ] k.o. red flower, introduced by Bernice Christian's mother from Mangareva. *Salvia officinalis*, or *S. splendens*? / – // 4. Opn, but it is not quite clear what Henry it alludes to.

HER [hɛ:] In expr. NOT GOOD AS A HER ("very weak"). GIRL (2) above is a synonym. / – // 12. Ei.

HERBERT ['hɛ:bʌt] k.o. sweet potato. / – // 4. Opn, it was introduced by Bernice Christian's father, Herbert Young (1873-1943, he was Simon Young's son).

HIGH-CHINA ['hœɪ'tʃœɪnʌ] k.o. banana, slightly different from ordinary CHINA. "It is the type Chiquita sell, so that must be the one you eat in Europe"

(Pi). It is not very common on Pitcairn, since the islanders prefer the taste of the ordinary CHINA. / – // 4. Ei.

(M) **HIGH-WHITE** ['hœɪ'wœɪət] k.o. tree with white flowers, blooming around Christmas (*Guettarda speciosa*). It used to be called FLOWER-TREE, and possibly TAFANO. / RM 231. RY 45, 51 incorrectly gives *Morinda citrifolia* for HIGH-WHITE, and so does McCoy 1904:713. // 4. Ei: in the old days, the women used to adorn themselves with flowers. The best flowers for this purpose were a white flower, growing on trees (hence HIGH-WHITE) and a red flower, growing on the ground (called LOW-RED).

HII [hi:] This, these (universal demonstrative pronoun). / KBY 104 **hi**. // 10. Epr.

M **HI'I**[1] ['hɪʔɪ] k.o. small limpet. / RM 231. // 3. P.

M **HI'I**[2] ['hɪʔɪ] To finish off the weaving. / RM 231. // 7. P.

(M) † **HIIGO** Voici. The word is not known on Pitcairn today. / RM 231. // 10. Ei, from English here goes.

M **HIILO** ['hi:'lɔ:] "It looks like a NANWE, but it is bigger" (Pi). *Kyphosus fuscus*? / RM 232. // 1. P.

HILLY ['hɪlɪ] In expr. HILLY AS A HILLY (=HILLY-HILLY below, i.e. "very choppy (about the sea)", "or even worse"). / – // 12. Ei.

M **HILLY-HILLY** ['ɪlɪ'ɪlɪ, 'hɪle'hɪle] Very choppy (about the sea). See also HILLY above. / RM 232. Ross 1958:335 gives **ileile** for "up-and-down". Sanders 1959:288 **illi-illi**, "to describe a rough sea." // 6. Ei(?). On Tristan da Cunha, willy-nilly is used for "violent winds causing revolving pillars of foam" (AZ 104).

(M) † **HINANU** The pandanus flower. / RM 232. // 4. P.

† **HINAARO** Loved. / In the final lines of G.H. Nobbs' paean for Pitcairn, Fenua Maitai ("The Good Land"): "Be Victoria our Queen! May our Queen be victorious, And this Rock of the West oft resound with the chorus, 'Pitarnia hinaroo, FENUA MAITAI!' (Murray 1857:355). // 10. P: Tahitian Hinaroo = "love, desire, affection, will, pleasure, choice" and "to love, desire, will; to choose" (JD 104).

HITCH [hɪtʃ] In expr. like YOU SE FULL UP HA HITCH, said to someone who looks as though he/she has had enough to eat and simply can't eat any more. / – // 5. Ei.

HITCHIE-BEANS ['hɪtʃə'bɪənz] k.o. beans: (1) a synonym to PURPLE-POD below (so called because the pod is purple). (2) haricots verts. / – // 4. Opn, at

least the PURPLE-POD was introduced by "Hitchie", i.e. Boyd Christian, who was "a bastard who chose the name Christian himself" (Pi).

HIWI ['hɪwɪ] In expr. SAME AS HA HIWI'AN, said to someone who behaves foolishly. / – // 12. Ou.

M **HIW'O** ['hɪw'ʔʊə] Failing to reach maturity, e.g. of coconuts or bananas. / RM 232. // 10. P, probably.

(M) (†) **HOG** [hɔ:əg] Pig. / RM 232. // 3. Eam(?).

M **HOLD** [ho:l] In expr. TAKE HOLD (= "wrestle"). / RM 232. // 8. Ed.

M **HOLE** [hu:l] A fishing place in the rocks. / RM 232. // 6. Ei.

(M) (†) **HOLIWEEK** ['hɔlə'wi:ək] Holiday from school. / RM 232. // 8. Ei, the word was invented during Moverley's time as Pitcairn schoolmaster, since he often gave one week's school holidays per month instead of longer periods. Different schoolmasters arrange the school holidays in different ways, and they are free to do so, as long as there are 190 days per year of teaching.

(M) † **HOLLER** To shout. / RM 232. // 10. Eam(?).

HOLLOW ['hɔlɔ] Landslide (also used as a verb: HA BANK YONDER SE HOLLOW UP). / – // 10. Ei.

† **HOME** England. / Nicolson 1965:127, quoting Captain Bruce of H.M.S. Imogene (visited Pitcairn in 1837). // 10. Ei.

HONDA ['hɔn'dʌ] Any motorcycle. / – // 10. Opn, since almost all motorcycles on the island are of this make.

HOORAH [hu'reɪə] Goodbye, see you (word of farewell). / – // 10. Ei(?).

M **HORN** ['hɔ:ən] Penis. / RM 233. // 9. Ed.

M **HORNET-SHELL** ['hɔ:nɪ'ʃel] k.o. shell-fish, possibly *Rhinoclavus sinensis*. / RM 233. // 3. Ei.

HORSE ['hɔ:əs] In expr. like YOU SE UNDER HA HORSE /TAIL/ = "you have no job, you have lost your job" (probably used more commonly by ex-Pitcairners in New Zealand than on Pitcairn). / – // 7. Ei(?).

M **HOUSE** ['haʊwəs, haʊs] The enclosed space at the bow or stern of a boat. / RM 233. // 6. Ei.

M **HU'A** ['hʊ'ʔʌ] A string of pandanus or PAIOORI leaf, to be used in basket-making. / RM 233. // 7. P.

(M) **HUE/-FISH/** ['hʊwe'fɪʃ] The name for several fishes of striking, unwieldy shape, like puffers (*Arothron* (Ra), *Tetraodontidae*) and box-fishes (*Ostraciontidae*). / RM 233. // 1. P.

M **HUI** ['hʊwe, 'hʊɪ] k.o. pumpkin. It seems that HUI is used both for *Cucurbita pepo* and *Lagenaria siceraria* (LÅG). / RM 233. // 4. P.

(M) **HUI-HUI** ['hʊɪ'hʊɪ, 'hʊwe'hʊwe] To shudder, feel ashamed; disgusting, filthy. "If you have over-eaten, you feel HUI-HUI, too" (Pi). / RM 233. // 10. P.

(M) **HULIANDA** [ˈhʊlɪ'ændʌ] k.o. white flower, very similar to the frangipani; it is possibly *Neisosperma oppositifolia* (LÅG), but probably not the oleander, which is called MOUNTAIN-ROSE in Pitkern. The nomenclature is somewhat complicated here, one reason being that English and Pitkern names have been mixed up. There is a place-name Hulianda, too. / Cr gives **holiandah**, StJ gives **holiandah**, **oleander** and **mountain-rose** for *Nerium oleander*, and **oleander** for *Cerbera manghas* and *Ochrosia oppositifolia* as well. Williams (pers.comm.) agrees that **oleander** is *Ochrosia oppositifolia*. // 4. Ou.

(M) **HULU-HULU** ['hʊlʊ'hʊlʊ] Untidy (e.g. your hair); not smooth (e.g. a piece of wood). / RM 233-4. // 10. P.

HUMPUS-BUMPUS ['hʌmpʌz'bʌmpʌs] A Pitcairn dish, fried "burgers" made of mashed bananas and flour. / Marden 1957:752. Falk-Rønne 1969:188. // 5. Ou.

M **HUPE** [hʊ'pe:] Nasal discharge. / RM 234. // 9. P.

(M) † **HUPWEI** Faint from hunger. / RM 234. // 9. P.

HURRY CAPTAIN ['hʌrɪ'kæʔm] Anyone who is in a hurry. YOU ES HURRY CAPTAIN! = "You really are in a hurry, aren't you!" / Cf Marden 1957:770. // 10. Ei.

HUTI ['hʊtɪ] A mishap, an accident. The word is also used as a verb: YOU SE HUTI ("you've had an accident"). / – // 10. P, probably.

(M) **HU'U'U** [ˈhʊʔʊ'ʔʊə] The name for the very closely related wrasses *Thalassoma purpureum* and *T. fuscum* (Ra); "like the PE'OU, but smaller and paler" (Pi). / RM 234. // 1. P.

HYPOCRITE [ˈhɪpo'krɪt] To act with hypocrisy. / – // 10. Ei: an English noun used as a verb.

(†) **ICE-PLANT** [œɪs'plɑ:ənt] Another name for the plant GOAT'S-PISS, which is the sun plant (*Portulaca lutea*). / – // 4. Ei, probably.

(M) † **IF-WE-ARE-SPARED** Au revoir. / RM 258. // 10. Es-d.

† **IHARA** A favourite pastime in the old days: "the beating of calabashes with sticks, performed with extreme precision, to which the players kept time, moving with noiceless step and an easy grace" (RY 101-2). / RY 29, 101-2. // 8. P. Tahitian ihara = "the name of a rough instrument of music, struck with sticks; commonly a piece of bamboo open on one side" (JD 117).

(M) **'IHIHI** [I'hIːhIə, ˈhIʔIˈʔI, ʔIˈhIhI] k.o. red fish; a holocentrid, *Adioryx* spp. One islander pointed out *Myripristis tiki* as **ehihi**. / RM 234: [ihi]. // 1. P.

M **IIJALA** [jʌlʌ, iːjʌlʌ] A word of contempt used if someone presumes superiority to an elder. / RM 234. IC 59 **eyulla** ("acting older than they are"). // 10. P, probably.

M **II-NO** [iːˈnɔː] Oh, no! / RM 234-5. Sanders 1959:289 **eeno**. // 10. Ou. See II-YEAH below.

M **II-YEAH** [iːˈjæːə] Oh, yes! / RM 234-5. Marden 1957:752 **ee-yeh**. // 10. Ou. Could be Ed or EP; Tahitian ia "correspond à peu près aux adverbes français 'vraiment' et 'bien'" (Anisson du Perron 1976:114).

'ILI-TONA ['ɪlIˈtɔnʌ] Sty. / –// 9. P, from Tahitian mata iri tona ("sty", French orgelet, AdP 264).

(M) **IMAGE** [ɪˈmɪdʒ] Scarecrow. The first IMAGE on the island was made by Thursday October Christian (it is not quite clear which one as there have been several persons with that name) in order to keep the goats out of his plantation. / RM 235. // 7. Ei.

M **IMPORTANT** [Imˈpɔːˈten] Assuming airs. / RM 235. // 10. Ea.

M **IRONWOOD** ['œIʌnˈwʊd] k.o. tree. (One may claim that this is English, and not Pitkern, but it has been included here since it was included in RM's glossary.) / RM 235. // 4. Ei.

M **ISI-FISH** ['isIˈfIʃ] "Blue, small like a finger, sharp and long head" (Pi). "The piper, or garfish" (RM). Probably *Labridae*, perhaps *Labroides dimidiatus* (LÅG). / RM 235. // 1. Ou.

M **IWI** [iˈwe] Little. / RM 235. IC 58 **iwie**. // 10. Ed, Scottish.

(M) **JACKASS** ['dʒækˈɑːs] The dog-tooth tuna, *Gymnosarda unicolor* (Ra). Up to six feet big, whitish. / RM 235. // 1. Ei.

M **JACKFRUIT** ['dʒækˈfrʊt] The paw-paw, *Carica papaya*. / RM 235. Clune 1966:226 **Jack-fruit tree**. // 4. Ou.

(†) **JACKO** ['dʒækɔ] k.o. ghost much less important now than in the old days. / KBY 168. // 10. Ou.

(†) **JACOBSEN-WALK/-IN-THE-BUSH/** ['dʒækɔbsən'wɔ:kInʌ'bʊʃ] A walk in private, A WALK IN THE BUSH. / Falk-Rønne 1969:238. // 8. Opn, the Danish sailor Niels Oluf Jacobsen (1879-1932) settled on Pitcairn in the early 1920s.

JAG [dʒæg] In expr. JAG A FISH ("give it a jerk, jerk on your line"). / – // 7. Ed, Scottish: EDD gives "to jerk roughly; to jolt; to move with a sharp, jerking motion" for Scottish jag.

(M) **JAHOOLI** [jə'hɔ:lI, dʒʌ'hu:lI] k.o. fish. It used to be caught with nets, close to land, in the old days. It tastes good. It is dark blue in the water, but whitish when caught and taken out of the water. An islander suggested the alternative spelling **uhali** or **uhally**. / RM 236, given as a Norfolk word. // 1. Ou, possibly from Tahitian ahuru ("the name of a fish", RM).

(M) **JAMU** ['jʌmu] In expr. TASTE JAMU = "taste bad". / RM 236: "app. some process connected with cooking in the earth-oven". // 5. Opn, "TASTE JAMU is the same as TASTE DOG, because Oliver Clark used to have Jamu as the family name of his dogs" (Pi).

M **JASMINE** ['dʒæsmIn] Hibiscus shrub or tree, *Canthium odoratum*. It is the traditional Christmas tree on Pitcairn. See also WILD-JASMINE. / RM 236. Maiden **red jessamy**. Ford 1980:49 (=PM Dec 1965) **jesse bushes**. // 4. Ei.

M **JAWA** ['jʌwʌ] "A fish like a sardine, almost like a WHITEFISH" (Pi). *Kuhlidae*? / RM 236. // 1. P.

(†) **JERRAMINE** ['djerəmIn] k.o. plant, *Jasminum officinale var. grandiflorum*. / Cr. // 4. Epr, from jessamine.

JOKA ['jɔkʌ]] Short for MANIOKA. / – // 4. Epr.

(M) **JOLO** ['jɔlɔ] Grater for vegetables (esp. sweet potatoes) made of vesicular basalt, placed at one end of the 'ANA when used; to grate vegetables using that type of grater. Every family on Pitcairn has a JOLO, "it's impossible to live without" (Pi). / RM 236. Christian 1982:231 **yollo**. IC 59 **yor-lor**. // 5. P.

M **JONO** ['jɔnɔ] To make designs in weaving. / RM 236. // 7. P.

† **JORANA** "Good morning!" / Young 1900, note in her diary on 29 March, 1884. // 10. P.

M **JOTA** ['jɔtʌ] The waste from grated coconut after the cream has been extracted. / RM 236. // 5. P.

JUDGMENT ['dʒʌdʒmen] In expr. like YOU GWEN MISS HA JUDGMENT or YOU GWEN BLOCK-OUT HA JUDGMENT, said to someone who arrives late. / – // 10. Ei.

JUMPING-FISH ['dʒʌmpIn'fIʃ] The children's name for UHUA. / – // 1. Ei.

M **JUNK** [dʒʌŋk] A piece or lump of anything, esp. firewood. / RM 236. // 7. Es (?), see Colcord 1945:109. OED gives the meaning "an old or inferior cable or rope" as nautical and obsolete.

M **KAA** [kɑ:] A very common particle in expr. like I KAA WA ("I don't know"), I KAA HOW ("I don't know how"), I KAA BOUT ("I don't know where"), I KAA WHO'S IT ("I don't know who it is"). / RM 237-8. F Christian 1938 **car**. KBY 104 **ka**. IC 59 **carfoot** ("don't know why"), **cardo** ("no good"). // 10. Ei, it is from English can't (this meaning is preserved in Pitkern: I KAA MAKE IT = "I can't make it").

(†) **KAI** [kœI, køj] Dinner. Young Pitcairners use this word sometimes. / – // 5. P, from Tahitian 'ai ("to eat; food; consume, be consumed", AA 8).

M **KEEPA** ['keIpʌ] Bad-tempered, esp. of children. / RM 238. // 10. Ou.

(†) **KEL** [kel] The place where you make MOLASSES out of TI; the procedure of making MOLASSES out of TI. The word is not common, since MOLASSES is nowadays extracted from the sugarcane and there has not been a KEL for many years. / – // 7. Ei, from English kiln.

M **KING-FISH** ['kIŋ'fIʃ] "Whitish colour, yellow up towards the fin, one to six feet" (Pi). LÅG suggests *Carangidae*, but KBY claims it is a tuna. / RM 238. // 1. Ei.

(M) (†) **KIT** [kIt] Any basket. / RM 238. // 7. Ea.

KLAAMI ['klɑ:mI] Muddy, messy. A road can be KLAAMI, e.g. / – // 10. Ei, from English clammy.

(†) **KLEPAS** ['klepʌs] Clever. / - // 10. Epr?

(†) **KNACKER-FOOD** ['nækə'fu:əd] Traditional (local) dishes. / KBY. // 5. Ei, probably.

(†) **KNIFE** [nœIf] In expr. STRAIGHT AS A KNIFE, often used formerly about ships coming in straight towards Pitcairn. / – // 12. Ei(?).

(M) (†) **KNOCK** [nɔʔ] In expr. ON HA KNOCK ="on friendly terms". / RM 238. // 10. Ed.

KOOPA ['kɔ:pʌ] A barrel in which water is kept and heated, from an open fire under it (the water is then led to a shower, e.g. inside a house). / -// 7. Es(?), it is English copper: OED gives "a vessel made of copper,...the large boilers or cooking vessels on board ship."

(M) (†) **KOOSHOO** ['ku:'ʃu:] In expr. I SE KOOSHOO ("I'm all right"). "It's dying out, actually it's a Norfolk one – my father used it" (Pi). / RM 209, given as a Norfolk word. // 10. Ou, of Australian origin?

(M) (†) **KUMARA** ['ku:mrʌ] Any k.o. sweet potato; TETE is a more frequently used synonym. KUMARA may be considered as English, but is included here since it was included in RM's glossary. / RM 238. // 4. Ed, this originally Maori word has now become international.

(M) **KUTA** ['ku:tʌ] The fish *Acanthocybium solandri* (Ra), also called WAHI. / RM 238. PM **barracouta, barracuda, barracuta, couta, cuda, cuta, cutta**. // 1. Ei: although KUTA is short for barracuda this fish is not the barracuda.

M **KUTSHE-KUTSHE** ['kʊtʃɪ'kʊtʃɪ] k.o. small fish. / RM 238. // 1. Ou.

(M) **LAATA** ['lɑ:'tɑ:, 'rɑ:'tɑ:] The mountain chestnut tree, *Metrosideros collina var. villosa*. / RM 239. Clune 1966:213 **rata-tree**. Ford 1980:72 (=PM Jan 1973) **rata**. // 4. P.

(M) (†) **LAB-LAB** [læb'læb] k.o. beans, sometimes called MUSICAL-BEANS and, more often, WILD-BEANS. LAB-LAB may be considered an English word, but it is included here since it was included in RM's glossary. / RM 238. // 4. Ei(?).

† **LADIES'-GRASS** *Digitaria setigera*. / Maiden 1901. // 4. Ei, probably.

M **LAHAA** ['lʌhʌ] Dandruff. / RM 238. // 9. P.

M **LAI** [løj] k.o. silverish fish, 10-30 cm. / RM 238. PM October 1976 gives **lie**. // 1. P.

LALE-LALE ['lʌlɪ'lʌlɪ, 'lʌle'lʌle] Something that has no life, too soft, as in I SE LALE-LALE ("I've got no life, I'm lazy"). / – // 10. Ou, possibly Polynesian.

M † **LANTERN** Red face. / RM 239. // 9. Ei.

M **LAPU** ['lɔpʊ] To mix (foods) preparatory to cooking. / RM 239. // 5. P.

M † **LARGE** In expr. TALK LARGE ("talk big"), which is not known on Pitcairn today. / RM 239. // 10. Ei, probably.

LATU-TETE ['lʌtʊ·tɪə'te] A synonym to FLAT-RUSSELL above. / – // 4. Ou.

LEAK [li:k] In expr. MAKE A LEAK (="urinate"). / – // 9. Ei(?), compare to spring a leak ("alongshore...of a person who urinates involuntarily", Colcord 1945:116).

(M) **LEARN** [la:nə, læn] To teach; to tell someone something. / RM 239. IC 58 **larn**. // 10. Ed.

M **LEBI** [le'bi:] Leave alone. / RM 239. Sanders 1959:288 **lebby**. IC 58 **lub-be**. // 10. Ed, from let be.

M **LEG** [le:g] The leg, including the foot. / RM 240. // 9. Ei, a calque on Tahitian – compare HAND above.

(M) **LEHU**[1] ['lehʊ] To scrape breadfruit, sweet potatoes etc. with the sharp edge of a tin's lid. Formerly, shells were used. / RM 240. // 5. P.

LEHU[2] ['le'hʊ] A castrated goat. See BILLY. / – // 3. P.

M **LEMU** ['lemʊ] Sea-slime. / RM 240. // 6. P.

(M) **LETAS** ['læ'tɔs] The name for several fishes with "round" shape like e.g. surgeon-fish, unicorn-fish, *Chaetodontidae*, *Zanclidae*. / RM 240. // 1. Ou.

M **LION'S-CLAW** ['laɪʌnz'klɔ:] Clamshell. / RM 240. // 3. Ei.

M **LOLII** ['lo:'li:] Wrinkled, like an old orange. / RM 240. // 10. P.

LONGBOAT ['lɔŋ'bʊʔ] A name for the wooden boats that the Pitcairners made themselves and used to go out to visiting ships. In the old days, they were propelled by the men at the oars and by the wind, then powered by diesel engines and often called just launch by the islanders. The last LONGBOAT to be built on the island was constructed in 1982 and replaced by an imported aluminium boat in 1987. / – // 6. Ei, a transfer.

M **LONG-FER** ['lɔŋ'fɛ:] With. / RM 215 **along-for**. Marden 1957:734 **long fa**. // 10. Ei, English along with is probably the origin. See FER above!

LOOK ON [lʊk'ɔn] Look at. / – // 10. Ei, it is transitive here.

M **LOOK OUT FER** [lʊ'kəʊt'fɛ:] Look after, take care of. / RM 240. // 7. Ei.

LOOLI ['lɔ:lɪ] Special k.o. sweet made on the island. / – // 5. Ei, short for lollipop.

LOWER ['lowʌ] Long stick to pick fruit with, often made of bamboo. / – // 7. Ei.

LOW-RED ['lo:'red] (1) "Used with HIGH-WHITE, this flower smelled very nice and made beautiful necklaces. It is called 'four o'clock' in English" (Pi). See HIGH-WHITE. (2) In the old days also *Mirabilis jalapa*, which can have red flowers as well as white ones. See LOW-WHITE. / Cr reported *Mirabilis jalapa* as **low red shrub** and **low white shrub**. // 4. Ei.

(†) **LOW-WHITE** ['lo:wœɪət] The white flowers of *Mirabilis jalapa*. / Cr **low white shrub**. // 4. Ei.

(M) † **MAAWII** k.o. white fish. / RM 243. // 1. Ou.

M **MAD** [mæd, mɑ:d] To play tricks, games. / RM 240-1. // 8. Ei, the English adjective mad used as a verb.

(M) (†) **MADA**[1] ['mʌdʌ] A dish, usually called CHINA DUMPLING. / RM 241. // 5. P.

MADA[2] ['mʌdʌ] The piece of last year's crop that you put in the soil to get the new crop. / – // 4. Ou, perhaps from Tahitian mata ("the first beginning of any thing", JD 136), or just English mother?

MADA[3] ['mʌdʌ] The scum which is removed from the surface of the MOLASSES. / – // 7. Ou, but it looks Polynesian.

MAGGOT ['megɪtʃ] Lazy. / – // 10. Ei: English maggot but with a shade of meaning. OED gives "fancifulness" as an obsolete meaning.

M **MAHAAMI** [mə'hɑ:me] k.o. tree, *Glochidion pitcairnense*. / RM 241. // 4. P.

M **MAHOI** [mə'hɔɪ] k.o. yam, *Dioscorea alata* according to St John. / RM 241. // 4. P.

(M) **MAIOU** [mə'ju:ə] To weep. / RM 241. F Christian 1938 **my-a**. // 9. P.

M (†) **MAITAI** ['mœɪtœɪ] Good. / RM 241. Nicolson 1965:151. // 10. P.

(M) **MAKE-MAKING** ['mɪʔmeɪkɪn] Fiddling around, causing troubles. / RM 241. // 10. Ei. Colcord states that intransitive use of make sometimes "seems to be peculiar to the sea and the coast" (1945:124-5).

M **MALOU** ['mʌlou] To argue. / RM 241. // 10. P.

(M) **MALUU** ['mʌlu, mʌ'lu:] Sanitary towel or the like, used by women during their periods. / RM 242 gives "loin-cloth worn in former times", see MARO. // 9. P, probably of same origin as MARO below – a transfer.

M **MAMA**[1] ['mʌ'mʌ] Waste fibrous stuff from sugarcane, arrowroot etc. left after the nutritious parts have been extracted. / RM 242. Ford 1980:19 (=PM August 1966) gives **muma**. // 7. P.

(M) **MAMA**[2] ['mʌ'mʌ] To chew. / RM 242. // 9. P, Tahitian mama = "to chew, or masticate food" (RM 242); MAMA (1) has the same origin, probably.

M **MAMAJOLA** ['mɑ:mə'jɔlɔ] k.o. reddish crab. / RM 242. // 3. Ou.

(M) (†) **MAMU** ['mʌmu] Silence! Shut up! Only the older inhabitants remember this word, which is one of the most famous Pitkern words, since it has been claimed that it was used during the mutiny on the Bounty (Gough 1973:81). / RM 242. Peard **marnoo, mamoo** (in Gough 1973:81, 88). // 10. P.

MANGAREVA-BUSH [ˈmængərʊwʌˈbʊʃ] A vigorous and disliked weed. / Twyford 1958 **Mangareva-weed**. // 4. Opn, it was probably brought from Mangareva.

MANGAREVA/-CANE/ [ˈmængərʊwʌˈkæːn] k.o. big, green sugar cane. / PM. // 4. Opn, it was probably brought from Mangareva.

(†) **MANGO** [ˈmæŋgʊ] The tropical almond, *Terminalia catappa*. RED-LEAF-TREE below is a synonym. / StJ. // 4. Ei, a transfer.

MANGO-HERBERT [ˈmæŋgʊˈhɛːbʌt] The mango (*Mangifera indica*). / Cr. // 4. Opn, probably.

(M) (†) **MANI-MANI** [ˈmɪnɪˈmɪnɪ] This small fish is now mostly called PIT. *Acanthurus triostegus*, which is called manini in Hawaii and on Tahiti? One islander pointed out *Scarus longipinnis* as MANI-MANI. / RM 242. // 1. P.

M **MANIOKA** [ˈmæˑniˈjʊkʌ] The tapioca or manioc plant (*Manihot esculenta*) and the starch-food made from it. Sometimes it is called JOKA, for short. / RM 242. // 4. Epr, the Pitkern word is a mixing up of the words tapioca and manioc.

M **MARK[1]** [mɑːk] A landmark. / RM 242. // 10. Ei.

(M) **MARK[2]** [mɑːk] To castrate (a goat); and in expr. like YOU KAA MARK A CHICKEN! ("You're incompetent!") / RM 242. // 10. Ei, the goats used to be ear-marked at the same time as they were castrated.

(M) † **MARO** Loin-cloth worn in the old days. / RM 242. Buffett (1846:27): "...the men wearing a cloth called maro" (at the time of Buffett's arrival in 1823). Marden 1957:752 **malu**. See MALUU above. // 10. P.

MARTHA [mɑːsʌ] In expr. SAME AS DAA FER MARTHA'S /UP IN HA PLUN/ = "on your own, all alone". / – // 12. Opn, Martha Warren (born Christian in 1904) was left alone on the island once when the other islanders went on holiday to Oeno Island.

(†) **MATAIO** [məˈtœɪjo] Food. / – // 5. P. Compare Tahitian matahio ("to ask or beg for food, property etc.", JD 136). This is one of the few Polynesian words that are more used by the young islanders than by the old ones.

(M) **MATAPILI** [ˈmatəˑpiˈleː] Coconut meat extracted whole from the split shell; coconut meat which will not come out of the shell ("MATAPILI happens to chickens too, sometimes. You have to help them out from the egg" (Pi). See OPILI and PILI.) / RM 242. // 5. P.

(M) **MATAPU'U** [ˈmʌtəpəˈʔoː, ˈmʌtəpʊˈʔuː] This fish is sometimes called AUNTIE-AND-ANN (see above), but MATAPU'U is the most used name. / RM 242. // 1. P: Tahitian mata ("face") + pu'u ("swollen").

MATU ['mʌtu] "Out", when playing games, e.g. YOU SE MATU! / – // 8. Ou, probably Polynesian.

(M) **MAULO** [mʌ'oulu, mʌ'ʔaulɔ] To break; fall/en/ to pieces. / RM 242. Sanders 1959:289 **maola**. KBY 105 **maolo**. // 10. P.

(M) (†) **MAWLOO** ['mʌlu] k.o. sea-bird very seldom seen on Pitcairn, "almost same as a tropic-bird, but white and with a long, white tail" (Pi). It is the white-tailed tropic bird, *Phaethon lepturus dorotheae*. / RM 243. // 2. Ou, possibly from Tahitian mauroa ("tropic-bird").

(M) (†) **MELEI** [mə'leɪ] A religious site of the earlier, Polynesian inhabitants. / RM 243. Buffett 1846:67 **morai**. RY 23 **marai**. Lavachery 1936:6 **marae**. KBY 103 **malai**. // 10. P.

(M) **MEME** ['meə'meə] To soften in the sun; wilted. / RM 243. IC 59 **mare-mare** ("withered"). // 5. P.

(†) **MEN-OF-WAR-HAWK** ['menɔwɔ:'hɔ:ək] The frigatebird, see HAWK. / Buffett 1846:51 **men of war hawk, hawk**. Nicolson 117. // 2. Es (or from the West Indies, where this word was widely spread in the 18th century – and where one of the mutineers originated from?)

(M) † **MENTAL** To steal. This meaning is not known on the island today. There was, however, an islander nicknamed "Mento" (Morris Warren, 1906-1984). The form mento for mental has been recorded in Hawaiian creole (Simonson et al 1982). / RM 243. // 10. Ei.

(M) (†) **MERCHANT** ['mɛ:tʃen] A merchant ship. / RM 243. // 6. Ea.

M **MIGHT-BE** ['mœɪʔ'bɪə] Perhaps. / RM 243. // 10. Ei.

(†) **MIKI-MIKI** ['mɪk'ɪmɪkɪ] k.o. plant, probably *Pemphis acidula*. / StJ. // 4. P, probably: the plant has the same name in the Tuamotus.

MILK [meuk] Coconut milk. / – // 5. Ei.

M **MILLER** ['mɪlʌ] Any small, night-flying insect. / RM 243. // 3. Ea.

MIMI ['mɪ'mɪ] In the following expr. (which looks as though it contains two objects): YOU SHE'S MIMI (said to someone who will not join, or to somebody who is not very smart, or tends to be a coward). / – // 10. Opn, probably. FANNY above is a synonym, FANNY and MIMI are interchangeable here.

M **MIRO** ['mi:'ro] k.o. tree, *Thespesia populnea*. The MIRO is not sufficiently abundant on Pitcairn to meet the demand; it is used by all the families to make souvenirs (carvings). From time to time – usually once a year, or once every second year – the islanders go in their launches to uninhabited Henderson Island to get logs of MIRO. In March 1996, more than 1000 MIRO plants were planted on uninhabited Oeno Island, by the islanders. The Pitcairn MIRO is not

the tree called miro in New Zealand. EME above is a synonym. / RM 243. Buffett 1846:67 **more**. RY 86 **mero**. Ferdon 1958:70 **miru**. Clune 1966:206 **mirau**. Nicolson 1965:138 **mero**. // 4. P.

M **MITI**[1] ['mɪ'te] Coconut milk, with salt and lemon juice, used as sauce, often eaten with breadfruit. / RM 243. // 5. P.

(M) **MITI**[2] ['mɪ'te] The wrasse *Coris aygula* (Ra), "a big, blue fish resembling the New Zealand butterfish" (Pi). / RM 243. // 1. Opn, the first fish of this kind which was caught by the islanders fell on the share of Harriet Melissa McCoy (b. 1847) who was nicknamed "Miti".

M **MOCK** [mɔk] To tease or make sport of someone. / RM 243. // 8. Ed.

MOCK-AROUND ['mʌkə'raʊən] Play, do something for fun. / – // 8. Ed, probably.

M **MOCK-COFFEE** ['mɔk'kɔ:fe] k.o. shrub used for hedges. Probably the panax, *Polyscias guilfoylei* (LÅG). / RM 244. Clune 1966 **mock-coffee-tree**. // 4. Ei.

(M) **MOI** [mɔɪ, mɔɪj] A species of threadfin, *Polydactylus sexfilis* (Ra). 'ANE is a synonym. / RM 244. // 1. P.

MOLASSES [mə'lɑ:ses] The boiled syrup from the sugarcane, or, in the old days, from TI. / Peard (1973:78). Buffett 1846:67. Clune 1966:215. Christian 1982:234. // 5. Ei.

MOMPTSHA ['mɔmtʃʌs] Nobody, when playing games: "-What team am I in? -MOMPTSHA'S!" / – // 8. Ea, probably from English mumchance. OED: "One who acts in dumb show. Hence, one who has nothing to say, a 'dummy'. Also as a quasi-proper name, as the type of a silent person." EDD gives the alternative spelling mumpchance, it was "formerly the name of a game of chance played with cards or dice, at which silence was essential."

(M) **MONKEY'S-PUZZLE** ['mɑ:ŋkes'pʌsəl] The Australian coral tree, *Erythrina variegata var. orientalis*. / RM 244 gives **monkey-puzzle**. // 4. Ei.

(M) † **MONO-MONO** Very good (of food). / RM 244. Sanders 1959:289. // 5. P.

M **MOOFLA** ['mɔ:flʌ] Barren, e.g. of goats. / RM 244. // 3. Ou.

M **MOOGA** ['mɔ:'gʌ] Thin. If a person is very thin, he is MOOGA AS HA TOLE BY AM'U. / RM 244. Sanders 1959:288 **morga**. // 10. Ed.

MORLA ['mɔ:'lʌ] Tomorrow. / KBY 103 **mola**. // 10. Epr.

MORSE ['moʊɔs] Meaning narrowed to try to contact a ship by using Morse flashing. / PM March 1975, August 1975 **moss**. // 6. Ei.

M **MOUNTAIN-APPLE** ['maʊnten'æpəl] k.o. tree, *Eugenia molluccensis.* Sometimes it is called just APPLE. / RM 245. RY (1880:55): "...a kind of apple of a beautiful deep-red color called mountain apple." // 4. Ei.

(M) (†) **MOUNTAIN-PLUN** ['maʊnten'plʌn] Another name for FE'I, less common. / RM 245. Bennett **mountain-plantain**. // 4. Ei.

M **MOUNTAIN-ROSE** ['maʊnten'rʊəz] The oleander, *Nerium oleander var. indicum* (LÅG). / RM 245. // 4. Ei.

(M) **MULU-MULU** ['mʊlʊ'mʊlʊ] Almost a synonym to HULU-HULU, but there is a slight difference: "You MULU-MULU a tidy bed, but you HULU-HULU your hair" (Pi). / RM 245. // 10. P.

MUMMY ['mʌ·me] The damselfish *Abudefduf sordidus* (Ra). / – // 1. Opn, named after Caroline P. Johnsson who came from Mangareva and was nicknamed "Mummy". After the tragic drowning of her first husband, Louis Johnsson, she married Virgil Christian (1893-1962).

MUSA[1] ['mʊ'sʌ] Almost. / Sanders 1959:288 **mosa**. PM 1971 **nomusa** ("not nearly"). KBY 105 **mosse**. IC 58 **moosar**. // 10. Epr.

MUSA[2] ['mʊ'sʌ] Reinforcing particle, "very much". / – // 10. Ei.

(M) (†) **MUSICAL-BEANS** ['mju:zəkəl'bɪənz] See LAB-LAB or WILD-BEANS. / RM 245. // 4. Ei.

M **MUSKET** ['mʌskɪt] Any rifle or hand-gun. / RM 245. // 7. Ea.

M **MUST-BE** [mʌs'bɪə] So it seems. / RM 245. // 10. Ei.

(M) (†) **MUTTON-BIRD** ['mɔʔn·bɛ:d] A petrel, "I think it is the same bird as the PUTU-PUTU" (Pi). *Puffinus griseus* or *P. tenuirostris*? / RM 245. // 2. Ed(?), if it is the same bird as the New Zealand mutton-bird.

M **MY-ONE** [mɪ'wɔ:n] Myself. / RM 248. // 10. Ei.

M **NAAWE** ['nɑ:'wɪ] In expr. GO NAAWE (="go for a swim"). / RM 245-6. Marden 1957:770 **narwy**. Sanders 1959:288 **naaway**. Falk-Rønne 1969:236 **nawi**. KBY 104 **navi**. IC 58 **nawe**. // 8. P.

(M) **NAMI** ['nɔmi, 'nʌmi] Get bad, rotten (about food). / RM 245 gives a reduplicated form **naminami** for "becoming high (of food)". // 5. P.

NANNY ['nænɪ] Nanny-goat. / Ross 1958:336. // 3. Epr.

(M) **NANU**[1] ['nʌnʊ, 'nʌ'nʊə] k.o. tree (*Morinda citrifolia*) with green fruits which are not good to eat. / RM 246 (Beechey **nono**). // 4. P.

NANU[2] ['nʌnu, 'nʌ'nuə] In expr. GREEN AS A NANU ="inexperienced, silly". See OBRU[2] and POTA[2] below for similar expr. / – // 12. EP.

M **NANWE** ['næŋwe, 'nænwe] A common fish, *Kyphosus cinerascens*, eaten often by the Pitcairners. NANWE is probably the most common fish name in Pitkern; BUTTER-FISH and DREAM-FISH above are synonyms. / RM 246. Marden 1957:773 **nanway**. // 1. P.

(†) **NATI**[1] ['nʌtɪ] In expr. A GOOD NATI = "very calm sea". / – // 6. Ou. From English nutty, according to some islanders.

NATI[2] ['nʌtɪ] To catch with a snare, e.g. NATI HA FOWL ON HA LEG. / – // 7. P, from Tahitian nati ("to tie or bind with a cord", JD 152).

M **NEHE** ['nɪhɪ] k.o. large, endemic fern (*Angiopteris chauliodonta*). / RM 246. Ward and Ward **nahé**. // 4. P.

(M) **NI'AU** [nɪ'ʔaʊ] The coconut leaf. / RM 246 gives "material for besom-brooms made by stripping the leafy matter from the midribs of coconut-fronds". Ward and Ward **ni'au**. // 4. P.

NI'AU-BASKET [nɪ'ʔaʊ'bɑ:skɪʔ] Basket made of coconut fronds. This is the type of basket that the islanders use themselves, as distinguished from different types of souvenir baskets. / – // 7. EP.

(M) **NIGGER'S-HOOF** ['nɪgʌz'hʊf] k.o. purple-coloured yam. / RM 246. // 4. Ei, "it shapes like a nigger's foot" (Pi).

(†) **NIGHTSHADE** ['naɪ'ʃæ:d] A weed, *Sigesbeckia orientalis*. / StJ. // 4. Ei, probably.

M **NIIAA** ['ni:'ɑ:] A green coconut, fit for drinking. / RM 246. KBY 81 **niaa**. // 4. P.

NO-NAME ['no:'neɪm] k.o. small, grey, rather insignificant fish. / – // 1. Ei, "the fish has not got any name yet" (Pi).

(M) **NOO** [nɔ:] Not. / RM. F Christian 1938 **nor**. IC 58 **nor**. // 10. Epr.

(M) **NOOT** ['nɔ:'ɔt] Used as a negative tag question: ES GOOD'AN, NOOT? / RM 246. // 10. Ei.

(M) **NOOTSA** ['nɔ:'tsʌ] It is not so. / RM 246. Sanders 1959:288 **not sah**. // 10. Epr.

(M) (†) **NOTHING-HAPPEN** ['nʌsɪŋ'hæpn] Phrase of farewell. / RM 230. // 10. Es-d.

NUNK[1] [nʌŋk] k.o. sweet potato. / – // 4. Opn, "Nunk" was the nickname of Alphonso Christian (1846-1921).

NUNK² [nʌŋk] In expr. YOU SAME AS NUNK, said to someone who (i) is very eager to go out to visiting ships. (ii) is extremely fond of members of the opposite sex. / – // 12. Opn, "Nunk" was the nickname for Alphonso Christian (1846-1921). "Once when he was fishing from the rocks he saw the longboats go out; directly he jumped into the waves and swam out to meet them. When he was taken on board, a WHISTLING-DAUGHTER was found in the long hair of his chest" (Pi). Obviously, "Nunk" was fond of women, too. One islander translates SAME AS NUNK as "Take it when you can, boy!".

M † **OBIDAH** Poncho. / RM 247. Nicolson 1965:71 (quotation from 1820). // 10. P.

M **OBRU¹** ['ɔbrʊ] k.o. edible plant, used like spinach (the black nightshade, *Solanum nigrum*). / RM 247. Maiden **obro**. Cr **obra cabbage**. StJ **aubrue, obrew**. // 4. P.

OBRU² ['ɔbrʊ] In expr. GREEN AS A OBRU ="inexperienced, silly". See NANU² and POTA² for synonyms. / – // 12. EP.

M **OBU** ['ɔbʊ] The banana-flower. / RM 247. // 4. P.

M **OFALEI** ['ofə'le:] k.o. small vine with edible tubers, it is a kind of yam (*Dioscorea esculenta* or *D. bulbifera*). / RM 247. // 4. P.

(M) **OFE** ['ɔfe] A big, whitish fish; the jack *Pseudocaranx dentex* (Ra). / RM 247. // 1. P, probably (RM gives Tahitian ofe as origin), but English ofay is another possible origin.

M **OFF¹** [ɔ:f] To lose (a fish). / RM 247. // 7. Ei.

M **OFF²** [ɔ:f] To fall. / RM 247. // 10. Ei.

M **OFF-PAST** [ɔf'pɑ:s] Out of control, of a fire e.g. / RM 247. // 10. Ei.

OLD-FASHIONED CAKE ['oʊl'fæʃn'ke:k] Special kind of cake. / Källgård 1986:190. // 5. Ei.

(†) **OLEANDER** [ˈʊlɪ'ændʌ] k.o. small tree with big flowers, probably *Cerbera manghas* (LÅG). This word does not seem to be a synonym to HULIANDA, and it does not mean "oleander", which is MOUNTAIN-ROSE in Pitkern. See HULIANDA / Recorded by Maiden in 1901. // 4. Ei, probably.

(M) **OLEI** [o'le:] k.o. banana, see COOKING-BANANA. / RM 247. // 4. P.

(M) † **OLWE-BOAT** "The case of the coconut-blossom, which is canoe-shaped and hangs dry on the tree after opening" (RM 247). / RM 247. // 4. EP.

(M) **'OMETI** [ʔo'metɪ, o'mɪte] A wooden plate used when cleaning fish (and, in the old days, when making POPOI) – see Chauvel (1933:Plate 30a) for a photograph. / RM 248. // 5. P.

M **OMUTU** [ɔ'mʊtʊ] A coconut at the stage just before the meat can be grated, just before it is ripe enough for that. / RM 248. // 4. P.

(M) **ONE** [wʌn] The indefinite article (the word has kept its English meaning, too). See AN above for another function (to form the predicative), and ONE below for another meaning and pronunciation. / RM 248. // 10. Ei.

(M) **ONE** [wɔ:n] Only, as in ES HAMI ONE ("It's only you and me"). / RM 248. // 10. Ei.

OOKL [ɔ:kəl] Small, little, in expr. OOKL-SALAN ("little children"). / Marden 1957:770 **orkal sullen**. // 10. Ou.

M † **OOLIOO** Far away. / RM 247. // 10. Ou.

M **O'P'A** ['ɔb'ʔɑ:x] A ripe coconut. / RM 248. KBY 81 (**dry**) **opaa**. // 4. P.

(M) (†) **OPILI**[1] [ɔ'pɪlɪ] A pounder made of whalebone, used for pounding bark in making TAPA. / RM 248. // 7. P.

OPILI[2] [ɔ'pɪlɪ] In expr. HEM EGG SE OPILI ("stuck into the shell, can't hatch"). See also MATAPILI. / – // 10. P, probably.

M **OTHER** ['ʌdʌ] This word has preserved its English meaning, but it is also used in the expr. YESTERDAY-HA-OTHER-ONE-HA-OTHER-ONE ("the day before the day-before-yesterday"). / RM 248. Sanders 1959:289 gives **tomolla ha tudder-one** for "the day after tomorrow". // 10. Ei.

M **OURS** ['aʊwʌz] Our house. / RM 248. // 10. Ed.

OUT-COD [·oʊ'kɔ:d] Another name for DEEP-SEA-COD or GREY-COD. / – // 1. Ei.

(M) **OUT-PICK-PICK** [·oʊ'pɪk·pek] An orange fish with black back, also called BLACK-BACK; it is different from PICK-PICK. / RM 248. // 1. Ei.

OUTSIDE ['əʊt'sœɪd] Any place outside Pitcairn Islands. / – // 10. Ei.

(M) **OUWAI** [əʊ'wœɪ] Half-grown, e.g. of goats. / RM 248. // 3. P.

M **OVAL** ['owʊl, 'ovʊl] A coconut at the stage just before the meat is forming. / RM 249. // 4. P, from Tahitian ouo (="a cocoanut, before the kernel forms", JD 176), even though some islanders claim it is from English oval.

M **PAA'A** ['pɑ:ʔʌ] Roasted fish of any kind, "on the coals as it is" (Pi); to roast fish. / RM 249. // 5. P.

M **PAAFTE** ['pɑ:ftʌ] A table used for sun-drying bananas, arrowroot etc. / RM 249. RY 41 gives **paafata** for "a wooden flooring erected on four posts, on which the feed for their goats was kept". // 7. P.

PAAN ['pɑ:ən] Expression of surprise. / – // 10. Epr, from English pon (my word).

PA'AU [pʌʔ'əu] Scum (from anything); sap (e.g. from a paw-paw). / – // 10. P, certainly.

(M) (†) **PAAWA** ['pɑ:'wʌ] A double thickness of thatch formerly used as ridging of the roof under a log. / RM 251. // 7. P.

(M) (†) **PACK** [pæk] Parcel. / RM 249. // 10. Ea.

(M) (†) **PAHUE** [pʌ'huwe] "Something like a pumpkin, but you can't eat it" (Pi). Probably *Ipomoea brasiliensis* or *I. tuba* (which is pohue in the Tuamotus). / RM 249. // 4. P.

(M) **PAIOORI** [·pœɪ'jɔ:rɪ] A variant of the pandanus (RM gives *Pandanus tectorius var. laevis*, StJ gives *P. spurius var. putat*). The leaves of the PAIOORI resemble the PALM leaves, but they have no prickles. Both are used as raw materials when making baskets. PAIOORI is stronger, but the PALM leaves show the colour of the dye better. / RM 249. // 4. P.

PAI-PAI[1] [·pœɪ'pœɪ] Jellyfish. / – // 3. P, from Tahitian paipai (="the sea blubber", JD 182).

PAI-PAI[2] [·pœɪ'pœɪ] In expr. BLUE AS A PAI-PAI ="very homesick". / – // 12. EP.

(M) (†) **PAITO** [·paɪ'tu] The baby coconut. / RM 250. // 4. P.

M **PALE** ['pʌ'le] Starting to ripen. / RM 250. // 10. P.

M **PALM** [pɑ:m] The pandanus tree (the endemic *Pandanus pitcairnensis*). The leaves of this tree are often used when making souvenir baskets (see PAIOORI). "When the dry winds from the south-east blow, it is very difficult to make the baskets, because the pandanus leaves are so brickle. You have to damp them all the time. But for finishing, dry weather is good." (Pi). / RM 250. RY 45 **the *pandanus* palm tree**. // 4. Ei.

PALM'S-BEARD ['pɑ:ms'bi:jʌd] k.o. lichen growing abundantly on the pandanus trees – this is probably a sign that the Pitcairn air is not yet polluted. / – // 4. Ei, a transfer (there is a British lichen called beard-moss) or local creation.

(M) **PALM-SHELL** ['pɑ:m'ʃel] k.o. seashell found under dead pandanus (PALM) leaves after wet weather. This sea-shell used to be called SHELL-IN-THE-PALM. / – // 3. Ei.

M **PALU** [pʌ'lu:] To use ground-bait to attract fish. / RM 250. // 7. P.

(M) (†) **PALWA** ['baʊ'wʌ, pə'ʔʌwʌlʌ] A small, yam-like plant, probably *Dioscorea pentaphylla*. "It was eaten in the old days, I don't know if there are any left" (Pi). / RM 249. Beechey 1831:130 **pawalla**. Ross 1958:336 **pavala**. // 4. P.

M **PAPEHAJE** ['pɑ:pə'hœIjʌ] To pound; to spank. / RM 250-1. // 10. P.

(M) † **PASTE** Dough. / RM 251. // 5. Ea, probably.

M **PAUNCH** [poʊntʃ] Stomach. / RM 251. // 9. Ea.

(M) (†) **PEAR** [peə] Short for avocado pear. / RM 251. // 4. Ei.

M **PEARL-SHELL** ['pɛ:l'ʃel] Oyster. / RM 251. // 3. Ei.

M **PEHE** ['pehe] To strip away the leafy matter of a banana leaf so as to leave the backbone (this is a necessary procedure when making PILAI, e.g.). / RM 251. IC 59 gives **payhay** for "to scrape". // 5. P.

(M) † **PEHU** To cover an earth-oven with green leaves and then with earth. / RM 251. // 5. P.

(M) **PE'OU** [pə'ʔəʊ, 'pʊʔʊə] The wrasse *Thalassoma purpureum* (Ra). It is probably the same fish as PU'U'U. / RM 250. Ra 1973:17 **po'ou**. IC 59 gives **po'ov** for "colored fish". // 1. P.

PEPE ['pepe, pIpI] Penis. / – // 9. Ou.

PERVIS [pɛ:wIs] To talk while one has food in one's mouth. / KBY 105. // 5. Opn, this was a bad habit of Pervis Young, long time Island Magistrate, now a resident of New Zealand.

PHARAO ['feərʊ] In expr. ES NIGHT FER PHARAO'S (="It's a very dark night"). / – // 10. Ei, from the Bible.

M **PIAALI** [pI'ʔɑ:lə, 'pi:'ɑ:lI] Small, of small stature. / RM 249. IC 59 **pi-ar-lee**. // 10. P.

PICK-FISH ['pIkfIʃ] A delicious Pitcairn dish of small pieces of fish ("picked" off the bones) fried with onions. / – // 5. Ei(?).

M **PICK-OFF** [pIk'ɔ:əf] To fall off (as a button). / RM 251. // 10. Ei.

(M) **PICK-PICK** ['ˑpɪk'pek] The triggerfish *Xanthichthys mento* (Ra), which is seldom eaten. / RM 251. Ra 1973:17 **pic-pic**. KBY 97. // 1. Ei, it "picks the bait", i.e. steals the bait without getting caught.

(M) **PICK-UP-TELL** [pɪ'kʌp'tel] To talk, tell, say. / RM 251. // 10. Ei.

(M) **PILAI** ['pɪlœɪ] A popular dish, like a baked pudding of e.g. breadfruit, sweet potatoes, pumpkin or arrowroot. It is cooked in banana leaves. / RM 251. Bennett 1840:37 **pilai**. Buffett 1846:68 **pelahi**. Ford 1980:11 **pilhi**, Ford 1980:20 **pillhai**. KBY 105 gives you got a **peel-eye (pillhai)** for Norwegian erta berta. // 5. P.

(M) **PILE** [pœɪjəl] Crowd; a large quantity, a lot. / RM 252. // 10. Ei.

(M) **PILI/-PILI/** ['pɪlɪ] Sticky; to stick to. / RM 252. IC 59 **pilly-pilly** ("stuck together"). // 10. P.

PILI-PILI ['pɪlɪ'pɪlɪ] k.o. grass, *Cenchrus calyculatus*. STICKING-GRASS below is a forgotten synonym. / StJ. // 4. P.

(M) (†) **PILITI** [pə'lɪtɪ] A pole used in the KEL. / RM 250. // 7. Ou, but it looks Polynesian.

M **PILOT** ['pœɪlet] k.o. fish, probably *Echeneis naucrates*. / RM 252. // 1. Ei.

M **PIN** [pɪn] Clothes peg. / RM 252. // 7. Ea.

(M) † **PINE** A board of imported timber. / RM 252. // 7. Ei.

(†) **PINE** [pœɪjn] k.o. plant, *Celtis pacifica*. / StJ. // 4. Ou.

(M) **PINI** ['pɪ'ne] k.o. tree, *Bauhinia purpurea*. FROM-HONOLULU is an old synonym. PINI is not the same tree as HATTIE, as stated in RM. / RM 252. // 4. P.

PIT [pjet] k.o. small fish, also called MANI-MANI. / – // 1. Ou; though it could be an abbreviation of English pit-fish.

(M) (†) **PITCAIRN-MONEY** ['pɪʔkɛ:n'ɪmʌnɪ] A synonym to EYE above. / RM 244. // 8. Ei.

M **PITCH** [pɪtʃ] The game of pitch-and-toss; the thing one throws in this game (from the WHELK). / RM 252. // 8. Ed(?).

PITKERN [pɪt'kɛ:n] The language spoken on Pitcairn Island. In linguistic and other literature, the language has often been referred to as "Pitcairnese" (term introduced by Hall 1934:62), but the Pitcairners have always said [pɪt'kɛ:n] and on 27 March 1996, the Island Council finally decided that PITKERN should be the official name of the language. / Källgård 1996. // 10. Ei.

(M) † **PLUM** "German sausage" (RM 253). "Maybe they mean the kind of pork sausage we had here before we killed all our pigs in 1907 – we are Adventists now, you know, so we don't eat pork" (Pi). / RM 253. // 5. Ei.

M **PLUN** [plʌn] Any kind of banana. / RM 252. F Christian 1938 **plun**. // 4. Ei, from plantain.

(M) **PO'I** ['pɔʔe] "You make it like PILAI, but you stir it in boiling coconut milk. Mostly, it is made of a mixture of sweet potato and yam, but you could use taro too, for example" (Pi). / RM 253. // 5. P.

M **POISON-CRAB** ['pœɪsən'krɑ:b] k.o. poisonous crab. / RM 253. // 3. Ei.

(M) **POONTU** ['pɔ:ntu] Shabby. / RM 210 (given as a Norfolk word). // 10. Ou.

(M) **POOPE** [ˈpɔ:'pe:, 'bu'bu] k.o. cliff-side plant with red, edible berries (probably *Lycium sandwicense*). / RM 253. StJ **pepe**. // 4. Ou.

POP'E ['pɔp'ʔeʔ] k.o. yam. / – // 4. Ou.

M **POP-GUN** ['pɔp'gʌn] The leaf-stalk of the paw-paw. / RM 253. // 4. Ei, from the fact that it was so used in earlier times.

M **POPOI** ['pɔpɔɪ] A dish. To make it in the old days, the Pitcairners used a TU'I (made of ALAA) and an 'OMETI to mash the ingredients (FE'I and SYDNEY). / RM 253. IC 59 **porpay** for "Red guavas". // 5. P.

M † **POPOI-STOOL** A flat stone on which the ingredients for the POPOI were mashed (this must have been many, many years ago). / RM 253. // 5. EP.

(M) **POTA**[1] ['pɔtʌ] Cooked green taro tops (or leaves of other plants, cooked and used as a vegetable). / RM 253. Marden 1957:752 **potta**. // 5. P.

POTA[2] ['pɔtʌ] In expr. GREEN AS A POTA ="inexperienced, silly". See NANU[2] and OBRU[2] above for synonyms. / – // 12. EP.

POTALA [pu'tʌlʌ] k.o. shell with prongs on. The common spider-shell? / – // 3. Ou.

(M) † **POTE** k.o. yam; nobody knows the word today. / RM 253. // 4. P.

PRAID [prœɪd] Proud. / – // 10. Epr (or just change of word-classes?).

M **PREPARATION** ['pepə'ræ:ʃn] Friday. / RM 253. // 10. Es-d.

M † **PRIDE-GLASS** Looking-glass. / RM 253. Nicolson 1965:72 (quotation from 1820). // 10. Ei.

M **PRISONERS'** ['presnʌ] The game of Prisoners' base. / RM 253. // 8. Ei.

PU[1] [pu] To make a mess of something. / – // 10. P, probably.

PU[2] [pu] "Shit". / – // 11. P, probably.

PU[3] [pu] A group or cluster. / – // 10. P, compare Tahitian pu (="a cluster of small trees, shrubs, or grass", JD 204).

(M) † **PUFOI** Broken, come apart. / RM 253-4. // 10. P, probably.

M **PULAU** ['pu:ləu, 'bu:rəu] k.o. tree, *Hibiscus tiliaceus*. It is also a place-name. / RM 254. Beechey **porou**, **parau**. Maiden **booroa**. Williams **burau**. Peard (1973:78) **paraow** (gives Fozotoo as a synonym), Peard (1973:93) **pouaoo**. RY 150 **boo-ron**. Cr **boo-rau**. Marden 1957 and Clune 1966:208 **burau**. Nicolson 1965:138 **borou**. Ford 1980:71 and *A Guide to Pitcairn* 1982:21 **turau**. // 4. P.

(†) **PULAU-GRASS** ['pu:ləu'grɑ:s] A synonym to CHARLES-AUTE-GRASS. / – // 4. EP.

M **PULU**[1] ['pulɔ] Coconut husk. / RM 254. // 4. P.

PULU[2] ['pulɔ] Bait. / IC 59 **pul-lu**. // 7. Ou, but probably Polynesian, and possibly etymologically related to PULU[1].

PUPU[1] ['pu'ʔə'puə, po'puə] k.o. vine with yellow flowers, it is about as big as the hibiscus. / – // 4. Ou, but it certainly looks Polynesian. Compare Tahitian pu (="a cluster of small trees, shrubs, or grass", JD 204).

PUPU[2] ['puʔə'puə, po'puə] To cramp something, e.g. in a corner. / – // 10. P, probably.

(M) **PURI'INI** ['purə'inI] k.o. banana, also called EDMOND-PLUN. You cannot eat it uncooked, see COOKING-BANANA. / RM 254. // 4. P.

† **PURPLE-AND-WHITE** A plant reported by Cranwell in 1932. / Cr. // 4. Ei, probably.

PURPLE-POD ['pɜ:pəl'pɔ:d] See HITCHIE-BEANS. / – // 4. Ei.

† **PURPLE-WEED** A plant reported by Cranwell in 1932. / Cr. // 4. Ei, probably.

PUT-ON [pʌt'ɔ:ən] Try to make yourself more important than you are. A synonym to MAKE BIG. "On Norfolk I didn't have to PUT-ON, what I mean is I didn't have to speak English" (Pi). / – // 10. Ei, it is intransitive here.

PUTUFEHAILO ['putəfə'hœIlo] Another name for BLUE-FREDERICK. / – // 1. Ou.

M **PUTU-PUTU** ['putu'putu] A general term for petrels. / RM 254. // 2. P.

M **PU'U** [pʊ'ʔʊə] Unripe. / RM 254. IC 59 gives "green". // 10. P.

PU'U'U [pʊ'ʔʊ'ʔʊ] "Like WHISTLING-DAUGHTER, but bluer" (Pi). Probably the same fish as PE'OU. / – // 1. P, no doubt.

(M) **RAHULU** [rə'hʊlʊ] The dry banana leaf. Nowadays RAHULU is sometimes used to pack fragile things in; formerly it was used as 1) filling-material in mattresses. 2) toilet-paper. 3) "ripener", see RIPE. 4) wings (!), at least on one talked about an occasion many years ago, when two islanders, "Chips" and Allen, tried to fly. Miraculously, neither was seriously injured. / RM 254. IC 59 **rahulla**. // 4. P.

RAKE [reɪk] In expr. like YOU SE RAKE HIS HEAD ("you've asked him a lot of questions because you're jealous"). / – // 10. Ei(?).

(M) **RAMA** ['rʌmʌ] A candle made from candlenuts (DUDWI) on a stick. The RAMA candles were used daily before the days of kerosene, then almost forgotten, and a few years ago they arose anew as a Christmas ornament. Expr. GO RAMA ="go torch-fishing" (because the RAMA were used as torches). / RM 254. Sanders 1959:289 **ruma**. Christian 1982:230 **rummer**. // 10. P.

M **RAUTI** ['raʊ'ti:] A small palm-like tree (*Cordyline fruticosa*), the root of which is called TI. / RM 254. Peard (1973:78) **rowtee**, Peard (1973:92) **routee**. // 4. P.

M **RED-BERRY/-TREE/** ['red'berɪ'tri:] k.o. tree, *Coprosma rapensis var. benefica*. / RM 255. // 4. Ei.

M **RED-BREAST** ['red'bres] A parrot endemic to Henderson Island, *Vini Stepheni*. "Seen on Henderson, about the size of a canary" (Pi). / RM 255. // 2. Ei.

(†) **RED-FAUTU** ['red'faʊtʊ] k.o. plant, *Hibiscus tricuspis*. / Beechey **fowtoo**. Maiden **red fowtoo**. // 4. EP.

RED-FISH ['red'fɪʃ] A medium-sized, red fish, also called /RED-/SNAPPER. It is the grouper *Epinephelus fasciatus*. / – // 1. Ei.

M **RED-LEAF-TREE** ['red'li:f'tri:] The tropical almond (*Terminalia catappa*), also called MANGO. / RM 255. // 4. Ei.

M **RED-SEED** ['red'si:d] The coral bead-tree, *Adenanthera pavonica*. / RM 255. // 4. Ei.

RED-TALE ['red'tɑ:lʌ] k.o. taro. / – // 4. EP.

(†) **RIPE** [rœɪʔ] In expr. PUT HA PLUN IN HA RIPE: this was a procedure to speed up the ripening of bananas when a ship was to call and there were not enough ripe bananas on the island. A hole was dug in the ground and the green

bananas were put in it, with RAHULU and the cone-like fruits of the PALM (pandanus). / – // 7. Ei.

ROAD [ru:d] Path. The word has kept its English meaning, too. / Cf Ross 1958:336. // 10. Ei.

(†) **ROCK** [rɔk] The Rock = Pitcairn Island. / Hoff 1985:70. // 10. Ei.

(M) † **ROLL** To fall. / RM 255. Sanders 1959:289. // 10. Ei.

M **ROSE-APPLE** ['roz'æpəl] The tree *Eugenia jambos*, very common on the island. Strictly, this word is English and not Pitkern; it is, however, included in RM's glossary. / RM 255. RY 1880:55. // 4. Ei.

(M) **ROTTEN** ['rɔʔn] To spoil (a child). Also in expr. ROTTEN EGG ="a spoilt person, somebody's favourite". / RM 255. // 10. Ei.

(†) **ROUGH-SKINNED LEMON** ['rʌfskɪn'lemʌn] A name for the ordinary lemon (*Citrus limon*) recorded by St John in 1934. / StJ. // 4. Ei, probably.

M **RULE** ['ru:le] Bêche-de-mer. Eleven different species have been reported from the Pitcairn group. / RM 255. // 3. P.

RUSSELL ['rʌsəl] To hide away something, to cheat (esp. when peeling arrowroots). / Ford 1980:19 (=PM August 1966) gives **rustling**. // 7. Opn: as the islanders sat peeling arrowroots together, Russell McCoy (1845-1924) is said to often have been hiding away the small ones, because he thought they were so boring to peel. Thus, it is probably *not* English rustle as Ford suggests.

M **SABBATH** ['sæbʌs] Saturday. / RM 255. // 8. Es-d.

SADY ['sædɪ] Match-maker; to act like a match-maker, to arrange meetings between young men and young women. / KBY 104. // 10. Opn, from the name of a Pitcairn woman.

M **SAID** [sœɪd] Because. / RM 256-7. // 10. Ei.

M **SAIL-HO** ['sæ:l'hu:] The usual cry from the islanders when a ship is sighted. / RM 255. Young "1900" **Sail O**. // 6. Es, it is also used on Tristan da Cunha (AZ 103).

SAIS [sœɪs] To throw. / – // 10. Ou, perhaps English hoist?

(†) **SALAN** ['sʌlʌn] People. The word is forgotten by some, but expr. OOKL-SALAN ("little children") is still known. / – // 10. Ou.

(M) (†) **SALMON** ['sæmən] Tinned salmon. / RM 255. // 5. Ei.

SANDFISH ['sæn'fɪʃ] k.o. fish, *Genicanthus spinus*. / – // 1. Ei, probably.

(M) **SANFORD** ['sæn'fɔd] k.o. long, thin fish; the wrasse *Cheilio inermis* (Ra). / RM 255 **Sandford**. // 1. Opn, named after Sanford Warren (1864-1944) who was the first islander to get it on his share.

M (†) **SAY** [seɪ] To say grace. A synonym to TELL below. / RM 255-6. Nicolson 1965:72, quotation from 1820. // 10. Ea.

(M) (†) **SCOW** [skaʊ] Any large, open boat. / RM 256. // 6. Es.

(M) † **SEA-HEDGEHOG** A forgotten synonym to FETUWE. / RM 256. // 3. Ei.

M **SEA-SHELL** ['si:'ʃel] One specific kind of seashell. / RM 256. // 3. Ei.

M **SEA-UNGA** [ˈsi:'ʊŋgʌ] k.o. hermit-crab. / RM 256. // 3. EP, compound with English + Polynesian roots.

(M) (†) **SEE THE LIGHT** ['sɪdʌ'lœɪt] Become a Seventh-Day Adventist. / RM 240. // 8. Es-d.

SEMISING ['semə'sɪŋ] It looks like. / – // 10. Ei(?).

SEMISWE ['seməs'we] It looks like it, so it seems. / – // 10. Ei, possibly English seems + this + way.

M **SENTEPI** [ˈsæntə'pi:] Starfish. Eight different species have been reported from the Pitcairn group. / RM 256. // 3. Ou, from English centipede or centrepiece?

M **SET** [set] To settle, e.g. of birds. / RM 256. // 3. Ea.

SEWING-BASKET ['so:ɪŋ'bɑ:skɪʔ] k.o. souvenir-basket with lid. / – // 7. Ei.

(M) (†) **SHELL-IN-THE-PALM** [ˈʃelɪnə'pɑ:m] An almost forgotten synonym to PALM-SHELL above. / RM 256. // 3. Ei.

(M) † **SHAM** A false pillow cover. / RM 256. // 10. Eam.

(M) † **SHARK** k.o. tree. See BEACH-WOOD for synonyms (**sharkweed, sharkwood**). / RM 256. // 4. Ei.

SHEEM [ʃe:m] To be ashamed. / – // 10. Epr.

M **SHERE** ['ʃere] The custard-apple, *Annona cherimola*. / RM 263. // 4. Epr, it is short for cherimoya.

SHE-SHIT [ʃi'ʃɪʔ] In abuses like YOU SHE-SHIT! said to someone cowardly or weak. / – // 11. Ei.

M **SHIFT** [ʃef] To change (one's clothes). / RM 256. // 10. Ed(?). However: "Sailors prefer this word to change, move, or alter, whether referring to

bending a fresh suit of sails or changing their own clothes" (Colcord 1945:165).

SHIMMY ['ʃɪmɪ] Petticoat. / – // 10. Ed, with a slight change of meaning. EDD: shimmy (or shimee) is common in English, Scottish and American dialects; it is "a corruption of 'chemise' though the latter being mistaken for a plural."

M **SHIP-MATE** ['ʃepmeʔ] The bristle-thighed curlew, *Numenius tahitiensis*. / RM 256. PM October 1980. PM **ship's mate**. // 2. Ei.

SHOPPING-BASKET ['ʃɔpɪn'bɑ:skɪʔ] The most common type of souvenir-basket. It has no lid. / – // 7. Ei.

M **SHUT-KNIFE** [ʃʌt'nœɪf] Clasp-knife. / RM. // 7. Ei.

(M) **SIDE** [sœɪd] Place. HOT-SIDE is "hell". / RM 256. // 10. Ei.

(†) **SINGING-ENGINE** ['sɪŋən'ɪndʒən] The sound from a kite which has a string and a piece of paper attached to it, each kite has a sound of its own. / Ward **singin' injun**. // 8. Ei.

(M) (†) **SING-OUT** [sɪŋ'əʊət] To shout. / RM 257. // 10. Es, Colcord 1945:47, 168.

SINK-SURF ['sɪŋk'sʌf] Low tide. / – // 6. Ei. Colcord (1945:182) gives "breakers after they run up on a shore or shoal" for surf.

(†) **SISTER** ['sɪstʌ] A term of address, not indicating relationship (in modern Pitkern, the word has its English meaning). / Johnson 1934 (see BROTHER above). // 10. Ei.

SKINNER'S-SHIT ['skɪnʌs'ʃɪt] k.o. grass. / – // 4. Opn, "Skinner" was a horse (some say it was a cow, see RM 180, and one islander claims it was a man) on Pitcairn, and the name of the grass is where it was first seen to grow.

M **SKIP** [skɪp] A process in basket making by which a special design is produced; to carry out this process. / RM 257. // 7. Ei.

SKUNK [skʌŋk] To be left without. YOU SE SKUNK can be said to someone who has been out fishing, who has not succeeded in getting any fish. / – // 10. Eam.

M **SLATE-PENCIL** ['slæ:t'pensəl] The spines of a large sea urchin. / RM 257. // 3. Ei.

M **SLEEPER** ['slɪ'pʌ] Floor-joist. / RM 257. // 10. Ea.

M (†) **SLIDE** [slœɪd] To use a surf-board. / RM 257-8 **have a slide**. Nicolson 1965:71 (quotation from 1820) **sliding**. // 6. Ei, probably.

(M) **SLIPI** ['slɪˑpɪ] (1) k.o. small rock fish. (2) The wrasse *Cheilinus unifasciatus* (Ra), "caught mainly from 25 to 40 fathoms" (Pi). / RM 258. // 1. Ou, a SLIPI (1) is very slippery and hard to hold, and it looks very sleepy, too, so it is difficult to say whether the origin is slippery or sleepy, or perhaps something else.

SLOP [slɔʔ] The small "shop" of a merchant-ship, which has things for sale to the crew. Usually, the islanders are allowed to buy things in these "shops". / – // 6. Es, compare English slop chest.

(M) **SNAPPER** ['snæpʌ], or sometimes RED-SNAPPER, a synonym to RED-FISH above. / RM 255. // 1. Eam(?).

M **SNIPE** [snœɪp] The wandering tattler, *Heteroscelus incanus incanus.* / RM 258. // 2. Ei.

SNIP-FERN ['snɪp'fɛ̈:n] k.o. garden-plant, "similar to the asparagus-fern in America" (Pi). *Asparagus setigerus*? / – // 4. Opn, it was introduced by "Snip", i.e. Louisa Young ("Nunk's" daughter, 1879-1956).

M **SNOW-FRUIT** ['sno:'fru:t] The soursop, *Annona muricata.* / RM 258. LÅG 3 **snowball fruit**. // 4. Ei.

M **SOAP-SEED** ['sop'si:d] k.o. tree with red berries and seeds that lather, the soapberry (*Sapindus saponaria*); it was introduced by George Nobbs (PM, July 1972). / RM 258 gives the synonym CHERRY-TART, now forgotten. StJ **soap-tree**. Ward **soap-seed tree**. // 4. Ei.

M **SOFT** ['sɔ:əf] To become soft or softer; to soften. / RM 258. // 10. Ei.

(M) **SOLDIERS** ['soʊldʒʌs] k.o. crab which inhabits a discarded shell. Notice the s-ending in the singular! / RM 258. // 3. Ei, but why? It is not entirely clear why the crab got this name. Is the crab an idler, like the marines on old warships (Colcord 1945:171)? Or has it got a "scarlet military uniform", like the fish called soldier on Tristan da Cunha (AZ 96)?

M **SOLE** [soʊl] In expr. ES SOLE'AN ("it's finished, there's no more"). / RM 258. Sanders 1959:288 **es solen**. IC 59 **sorlun**="finished". // 10. Ei.

M **SORE** [sɔ:] Ill, in pain. / RM 258. // 9. Ei.

M **SPARROW** ['spæ'rʌ] (1) The Pitcairn Island warbler, *Acrocephalus vaughani vaughani.* (2) The Henderson Island warbler, *Acrocephalus vaughani taiti.* / RM 258. Bennett 1840:41. // 2. Ei.

M **SPARROW-HAWK** ['spærʌ'hɔ:k] The long-tailed cuckoo, *Urodynamis taitensis.* / RM 258-9. // 2. Ei.

M **SPECKLED-COD** ['spɪkəl'kɔ:d] k.o. speckled fish, probably *Serranidae*. / RM 259. // 1. Ei.

SPILL [spɪl] Pour, tip. / – // 10. Ei, English spill with a slightly changed meaning.

SPOD [spɔd] The ordinary potato. / – // 4. Ed.

SQUARE-BASKET ['skweə'bɑ:skɪʔ] k.o. souvenir-basket. / – // 7. Ei.

(M) **START** [stɑ:t, staʊət] Go, set off. I GWEN START FER HOME ="I'll go home now". / RM. Sanders 1959:288. // 10. Ei, probably (possibly Ea).

M **STAY-DOWN** ['stɪ'dəʊn] Sit down. / RM. // 10. Ei.

M **STAY-WELL-OUT** ['stewel'əʊt] To behave oneself. / RM 259. // 10. Ei.

M **STICK** [stɪk, stek] Timber, board. / RM 259. // 7. Ei.

(†) **STICKING-GRASS** ['stekən'grɑ:s] k.o. grass, PILI-PILI above is a synonym. / LÅG 30. // 4. Ei.

(†) **STIG** [steg] To sew on the PALM leaf to the TOLI when making thatched roofs in the old days. Leaf-stalks from the 'AM'U were used in this process. / PM. // 7. Ei, English stick(?).

STINKPOT ['stɪŋʔ'pɔt] k.o. sea-bird very seldom seen by the islanders, possibly the giant petrel (*Macronectes giganteus*). / – // 2. Es: OED gives "A sailor's name for a petrel" for stinker and stinkpot.

M **STIRRED** [stʌd] Violent, "boiling" (about the sea or the surf, as in HA SURF SE STIRRED). / RM 259. // 6. Ei.

STOKEN ['stɔ:kɪn] Stockings; socks. / – // 10. Ei, from English stockings?

(M) (†) **STONE** [stoən] Artifact of the Polynesians who inhabited Pitcairn a long time ago. / RM 259. // 10. Ei.

M **STORY** ['stɔlɪ] A lie. / RM 259. KBY 105 **stolli**. IC 58 **estolley** for "untrue". // 10. Ei.

M **STOUT** [staʊt] Big and strong, of persons. / RM 259. // 9. Ea.

M **STRANGER** ['streɪndʒʌ] A non-Pitcairner. / RM 259. // 10. Ei.

M **STUDY** ['stʌdɪ] To teach. / RM 259. // 10. Ei.

STY [stœɪ] In expr. JUMP OUT OF STY ("to have an affair with someone else than your wife/husband"). / – // 10. Ei(?).

(M) **SUCKER** ['sɔkʌ] k.o. small fish, probably the file-fish *Alutera scripta.* / RM 259. // 1. Ei, probably.

SUGAR-YAM ['ʃʊgə'jɑ:m] k.o. red yam. / – // 4. Ei.

M **SWEAR** [sweə] To swear at (someone), thus with direct object. / RM 260. // 11. Ei.

M **SYDNEY** [sɪd'nɪ] k.o. banana. / RM 260. RY 1880:55. // 4. Ed, named after the Sydney Botanic Gardens; this banana is known as Sydney on other islands in the Pacific, too.

M **TAAB** [tɑ:b] Slasher, machete. / RM 260. PM March 1981 **tarb**. // 7. P, probably.

TAAL'E ['tɑ:l'ʔe] A basket of any kind. / – // 7. Ou, but it looks Polynesian.

M **TAAPOU** ['tɑ:'pɛ:ʊ] k.o. medium-sized, low branched evergreen tree, endemic to Pitcairn, *Homalium taypau.* / RM 261. Maiden **tapau, tahpau**. StJ **taypau**. Ferdon 1958:76 **tapu**, "used for house construction." // 4. P.

(M) **TAAPTE** ['tɑ:ptə, 'tɑ:pʔe] Hook around something, hook up together, clutch, grip. / RM 261. // 10. P.

M **TAATREMOE** [tɑ:trə'mɔ:] A very thorny bramble, the nicker nut vine,*Caesalpina bonducella.* / RM 261. // 4. P.

(M) **TABI** [tɔ'bɪ] Wait! / RM 260. This is one of the most misunderstood Pitkern words: for many years it was spelt **toby** and erroneously pointed out as meaning "goodbye" in the information booklet *A Guide To Pitcairn.* // 10. P, probably.

M † **TAFANO** k.o. tree. The word is not known today. / RM 260. According to Wood (1849) it was *Guettarda speciosa.* In that case, TAFANO is a forgotten synonym to HIGH-WHITE. // 4. P.

TAIL [teɪl] The brown, withered banana BOOT. / – // 4. Ei, tails for kites are mostly made of this material.

(M) (†) **TAI'RO** [tœɪ'ro] A sauce made of rotten coconut, with a consistence like whipped cream. Nobody eats it nowadays: "[aɪ sə mɔ: səwəlaɪs den dɑ:]" (Pi). / RM 260. // 5. P.

(M) (†) **TAI-TAI**[1] ['tœɪ'tœɪ] Tasteless. / RM 260. IC 59 **ty-ty**. // 5. P.

(M) **TAI-TAI**[2] ['tœɪ'tœɪ] The AUSTIN-BIRD is sometimes called TAI-TAI, since TAI-TAI means "tasteless" and the flesh of the AUSTIN-BIRD was considered to be tasteless formerly, when sea-birds were eaten. / RM 560. // 2. P.

TAITI/-CANE/ ['taɪte'kæ:ən] k.o. reddish sugarcane, probably *Saccharum officinarum var. tahitense.* / – // 4. Opn, it was brought from Tahiti.

M **TALA**[1] ['tʌlʌ] Prickles from the edges of pandanus leaves. / RM 261. // 10. P.

(M) **TALA**[2] ['tʌlʌ] Dorsal spines of a fish; big fish bones. / RM 261. IC 59 **tulla**. // 3. P.

(M) **TALE** ['tɑ:lʌ, 'tɑ:le, 'tʌle] Taro. The root and, sometimes, the young leaves of this tropical plant are used for food. / RM 260. Peard (p. 78 in Gough) **tara root**. Buffett 1846:3 **kalo**. Ross 1958:336 **tala**. // 4. P.

M **TAMANU** ['tɑ:'mænʊ] k.o. large timber-tree, the Alexandrian laurel, *Calophyllum inophyllum.* / RM 261. // 4. P.

(M) **TAMOI** ['tʌ'mɔɪ] A snapper (*Lutianidae*). / RM 261. // 1. P.

(M) **TAMORI** ['tʌ'mu:rɪ] The lethrinid fish (emperors), *Monotaxis grandoculis* (Ra). / RM 261. // 1. P.

M **TANII** [tʌ'nɪ] Fair patches on dark skin, such as those caused by sunburn or sores. / RM 261. // 9. P.

(M) **TAPA** [tʌ'pʌ] Cloth made from the inner bark of trees, but "we stopped making TAPA over 40 years ago" (Pi). / RM 261. RY 66 **tappa**. // 7. P.

(M) **TAPLOU** ['tɑ:pə'lu:] Something absorbent used on a baby's bed. Formerly, the TAPLOU was usually made of goat-skin. / RM 261. // 10. P.

TARA-BASKET ['tɑ:rʌ'bɑ:skɪʔ] k.o. souvenir basket. / – // 7. Ou.

(M) (†) **TARDY** ['tɑ:'di:] Late, too late. / RM 261. // 7. Ea.

M **TASTE** [teɪəst] In expr. SEND IT PAST HA TASTE ="to like it very much" (of food). / RM 261. // 5. Ei.

(M) † **TATALA** k.o. fish. The word is not known today. / RM 261. // 1. P.

TEK [tek] In expr. HA COCKNUT SE TEK = "the coconut is at the stage when you can hear the water in it if you shake it". / – // 4. Ou.

TELL [tel] To say grace (=SAY). To say. The word has also kept its usual English meaning. Tell means "say" in Hawaiian pidgin as well (Simonson et al 1981). / IC 59 gives **tulla me** for "tell me". // 10. Ei.

(M) **TE'OU** [tə'ʔoʊ] The blue-striped snapper, *Lutjanus kasmira.* It is yellow with blue stripes. / RM 260. // 1. P.

TETE ['tiə'te] Sweet potato. The word KUMARA is a seldom used synonym. / Marden 1957:752 **taty** ("potatoes"). IC 59 **tayte** ("potatoes"). // 4. Ei, probably short for potato.

(M) **THATCH** [sætʃ] Material for basket making; it was used on roofs, too, before corrugated iron. The last thatched roof was taken down in the 1960s. / RM 261. // 7. Ei.

(M) **THICK-LIP** ['sɪk'lep] k.o. small, brownish fish, the hawkfish *Cirrhitus pinnulatus* (Ra). / RM 262. // 1. Ei.

M **THIS-DAY** [dɪs'deɪ] Today. / RM 262. // 10. Ei.

M **THIS-NIGHT** [des'nœɪt] Tonight. / RM 262. // 10. Ei.

THORNTON ['sɔn'tɑ:n] Hard-shell passionfruit, *Passiflora quadrangularis*. / – // 4. Opn, called so because it was brought to the island by Thornton Christian (1888-1958).

M **TI** [ti:] The root of the RAUTI. / RM 262 (Beechey **tee**). RY 30. // 4. P.

(M) (†) **TIKEREK** ['tɪkə'rɪk, 'tɪtə'rɪk, 'kekə'rɪk] "I have almost forgotten that word, but I think it is the name of some petrel we see sometimes on Oeno" (Pi). LÅG suggests the white-capped noddy, *Anous minutus minutus*. / RM 262. // 2. P.

TIMU-TIMU ['tɪmʊ'tɪmʊ] Scared, worried. / – // 10. P, compare Tahitian timutimu ("to be obscured by distance", JD 270).

TIN[1] [tɪn] Loaf, in expr. A TIN OF BREAD. / – // 5. Ei.

M **TIN**[2] [tɪn] A piece of corrugated iron for roofing; to put such pieces on a roof. / RM 262. // 10. Ed, probably from New Zealand.

(†) **TINAI** [tɪ'naɪ] "Hints" (IC 59). / IC 59. // 10. Ou.

M **TIN-CUTTER** ['tɪn'kʌtʌ] Tin opener. / RM 262. // 5. Ed(?).

TINGI[1] ['tɪŋɪ] In expr. like DANE TINGI ="don't beg". / IC 59 **tin-a-hi** ("Begging"). // 10. Opn, "Tingi" was the nickname for an islander, Samuel Eugene Coffin (b. 1886).

TINGI[2] ['tɪŋɪ] In expr. YOU SAME AS TINGI, said to someone who begs. Compare BOP and TINGI[1] above. / – // 12. Opn, "Tingi" was the nickname for an islander who is said to often have been asking for things.

TIRITAINI ['tɪrɪ'tɛɪnɪ] "A white Gardenia with double flowers. It grows all over the island." (Pi). *Gardenia jasminoides*. / Cr **tiritini**. // 4. P.

TIRITAITI ['tɪrɪ'tɑ:tɪ] "A white Gardenia with single flowers. Quite scarce." (Pi). *Gardenia taitensis.* / – // 4. P.

TO [tʊə] k.o. tree, *Cordia subcordata.* The TO wood is used for carvings, but since TO is not very abundant on Pitcairn it is sometimes fetched from Henderson island. / PM **tau, toa.** // 4. Ou.

TO'I-TO'I ['tɔʔɪ'tɔʔɪ] Cold, freezing. / – // 9. Ou, though probably Polynesian.

(M) (†) **TOLI** ['tɔlɪ] A 5-8 ft long stick made from the aerial root of the pandanus, used when making thatched roofs in the old days. / RM 262. // 7. Ou.

M **TONA[1]** ['tɔnʌ] The curved grip on a wheelbarrow handle. / RM 262. // 7. P.

(M) **TONA[2]** ['tɔnʌ] The last thing you make when making a NI'AU-BASKET, the piece of THATCH protruding after the fastening down. / RM 262. // 7. P.

(M) **TONA[3]** ['tɔnʌ] "The parson's nose on a fowl" (Pi). Also in expr. YOU'S TONA GWEN TURN, said to somebody who has caught a cold. / RM 262. // 5. P, TONA[1,2,3] probably all share the roots from Tahitian tona ("a wart or excrescence", JD 278).

(M) **TOO** [tu:] Very much (this meaning is a classic peculiarity in "lingos of the same type as Beach-la-mar and Pidgin-English", according to Jespersen 1922:224-5); either (I KAA WA TOO = "I don't know either"). / RM 263. // 10. Ei.

(M) **TO'O** ['tɔʔ'wɔ] To use a pole, stick or hoe to carry something across your shoulders; the pole, stick or hoe used for this. / RM 263. Marden 1957:770. // 7. P.

M **TOTEWE** ['tɔtə'we] k.o. common grey crab, never seen far from the edge of the waves. / RM 263. // 3. P.

TOUGH-COD ['tʌf'kɔ:d] A synonym to YELLOW-COD. / – // 1. Ei, "because it is tough, it doesn't cook soft and nice" (Pi).

TOW [tɔ:] To fish by letting a hook with bait hang on a long line after a launch in motion, e.g. TOW FER KUTA. / – // 6. Ei.

(†) **TRAILIB** ['trœɪlɪb] In expr. like I SE TRAILIB FER COLD = "I am very cold, freezing". / – // 9. Ou.

(M) (†) **TREE-COCKNUT** [ˈtri:'kɔʔˈnʌʔ] Coconut tree, Tahitian word order. / RM 263. // 4. Ei.

(M) (†) **TREE-ORANGE** [ˈtri:'ɔ:rəndʒ] Orange-tree, Tahitian word order. / RM 263. // 4. Ei.

(M) (†) **TREE-TOMATO** ['tri:tə'mɑ:toz] k.o. tomato not common nowadays. The word is probably English (for *Cyphomandra betacea*) and is included here only because it was included in RM's glossary. / RM 263. // 4. Ed.

(†) **TRICKERY** ['trɪkre] In expr. GO DRINK TRICKERY ("to drink tea or coffee"), "It was used in the old days when the church had more influence and nobody dared to show that they drank tea or coffee" (Pi). / – // 5. Ei.

TRICKERY-BOX ['trɪkre'bɔks] Special kind of souvenir, a box made of MIRO with an ingenious locking device. / Källgård 1986:192. // 7. Ei.

(M) **TRUMPET/-FISH/** ['trʌmpɪt'fɪʃ] The name used for *Fistularia commersonii* (Ra). / RM 263. // 1. Ei.

(M) **TUHI** ['tʊhɪ] To use bad language (to a person). / RM 263. / 11. P.

M **TUHI-TUHI** ['tʊhɪ'tʊhɪ] Having overeaten. / RM 263. // 5. P.

(M) (†) **TU'I** ['tʊ'ʔɪ] A stone pounder used for preparing food, usually made of ALAA (hard, black, volcanic rock). Today, no one uses a TU'I. / RM 263-4. // 5. P.

(M) **TUNINA** ['tʊnə'nʌ] k.o. tree, *Hernandia peltata*. / RM 264. Beechey **toonena**. Maiden **tuninna**. Williams **tunina**. // 4. Ei, it seems that the original name was tuny-nut because the nut of the tree has a hole at the top and a note can be produced by blowing across this. The islanders seem to have forgotten about blowing the tuny-nut, however, and insist that it should be spelt TUNINA.

(M) **TUNU** ['tʊnʊ] A snapper, probably *Lutjanus fulvus*. "You can eat it young, but it is poisonous when it is old" (Pi). / RM 264. // 1. P.

(M) **TURPIN** ['tɛ:pen] Tortoise, *Testudo elephantopus* (a land animal; the turtles in the sea are called just turtle). / RM 264. // 3. Eam.

'U'A-OUT ['ʔʊ'ʔʌ'aʊt] Tear out, spread out. / – // 10. EP, the first part of the compound may be from Tahitian uaa ("to open and distend, as a flower, or the buds of trees and plants", JD 297).

(M) **UDI** ['ʊdɪ] Wash, rinse. / RM 265. // 5. P.

UDU ['ʊdʊ] To, with. / – // 10. Ou.

'UHU ['ʊhʊ, 'ʔʊhʊ] Parrotfish (*Scaridae*), probably *Scarus microrhinus* or *S. longipinnis*, or a common name for both of them (Ra). / – // 1. P, probably.

(M) **UHUA** [ʊ'hu:ʌ] k.o. small, black fish "jumping" on the rocks (*Istiblennius*).The Pitcairn children call it JUMPING-FISH. / RM 264 gives "k.o. big, blue fish". // 1. P.

(M) **'ULI**[1] ['ʔʊlɪ] Mosquito larva. / RM 264. // 3. P.

(M) **'ULI**[2] ['ʔʊlɪ] To wriggle. / RM 264. // 10. P.

M † **ULIATOU** One side ("the third") of the tapa-bark-pounder. / RM 264. // 7. P.

'ULI'ULI ['ʊlɪ'ʊlɪ] In expr. like YOU GWEN 'ULI'ULI ("you won't get anything") / – // 10. P, certainly.

(M) **ULWA** ['o:wʌ] A jack (*Carangidae*), probably *Caranx sexfascitus* (Ra), or *C. melampygus* (LÅG), or both. / RM 265. // 1. P.

M **UNDERSIDE** ['ʌndʌ'sœɪd] Underneath, on the downward slope from. / RM 256-7. // 10. Ei.

(M) **UNI** [ə'ne:] Only. ENI is a synonym. / RM. IC 58 **ooney**. // 10. Epr.

M **UPA'PA** [ʊ'pʌ'ʔʌpʌ, 'ʔʊ'pʌpʌ, pə'ʔɑ:pʌ] k.o. fish. *Apogon fraenatus*? / RM 265. // 1. Ou: it looks Polynesian, but some islanders claim it was named after the cry "Oh, papa!" of the girl who first caught it.

M **UP'E**[1] [ʊp'ʔe] k.o. limpet found on rocks. / RM 265. // 3. P.

(M) **UP'E**[2] [ʊp'ʔe] "Anything that is shaped like a cone, a small BU'U" (Pi). / RM 265, it shares its origin with UP'E[1]. // 10. P.

M **UPSIDE** ['ʌp'sœɪd] Above. UP-TOP is a synonym. Compare topside, given by Colcord 1945:195 as "A pidgin English term brought home from China by sailors". / RM 256-7. // 10. Ei.

UP-TOP ['ʌp'tɔp] Above. UPSIDE is a synonym. / – // 10. Ei.

UP-YONDER [ʌp'jɔnʌ] To the north, towards Panama (about ships). / KBY 104 **up yenda**. // 6. Ei.

† **URI** A native dance performed on Pitcairn in 1850. / RY 102. // 8. P.

'URU ['ʔʊrʊ, 'ʊrʊ] Breadfruit (*Artocarpus altilis*). The most common word for it is BREAD, but the Polynesian 'URU became very popular on the island after the film "The Mutiny of the Bounty" with Trevor Howard and Marlon Brando was shown (again) in 1980, because it is frequently used there (personal observation). / – // 4. P.

'URU-CHIPS ['ʔʊrʊ'tʃeps] Breadfruit chips. / – // 5. EP.

(†) **USHI-USHI** ['ʊʃə'ʊʃe] Cold, freezing. / – // 9. Ou.

M **UTATOU** [wʊ'tɑ:təʊ] The aerial part of a yam. / RM 265. // 4. P.

UTATU [oʔo'tʌtu] To live together although you are not married; a person doing so. / – // 10. P, probably.

M **UTOU** [uwutəu] The aerial root of the banyan, which was formerly used for ropes. / RM 265. // 4. P.

M **'U-U** ['ʔu'uə] To hurt (often used to children). / RM 266. // 10. P.

(M) † **UUAAUU** k.o. shellfish. / RM 264. // 3. P, probably.

M † **UUFAE** One side ("the fourth") of the tapa-bark-pounder. / RM 264. // 7. P.

(M) (†) **UUINI** [u'wini] k.o. basket. It is not made nowadays, since no-one on Pitcairn knows how to make it. "It's round and has a handle, all in one piece from coconut leaf" (Pi). / RM 264. // 7. P.

(M) † **UUTUU** k.o. tree, the giant magnolia (*Barringtonia asiatica*). Neither the tree nor the word seem to have survived on Pitcairn. / RM 266. // 4. P.

(M) † **VALANCE** "A fringe of curtain round the top of a table or cupboard" (RM 266). / RM 266. Young "1900", note in her diary on Christmas Eve, 1883. // 10. Ei.

M **VALISE** [we'liəs] Travelling bag. / RM 266. // 10. Eam, probably.

M **VALLEY** ['wæli] Any place to which one must go down. / RM 266. // 10. Ei.

VALPARAISO ['waupə'reiso] k.o. taro. / – // 4. Opn.

VON-BEANS ['wɔnbi:nz] k.o. brown beans. / – // 4. Opn, they were introduced by "Von", i.e. Yvonne Stimpson, during her first term as medical officer on the island (1980-82).

WAHI ['wɑ:hi] A synonym to KUTA above. / – // 1. Ou, possibly from Tahitian vahi ("part", "portion"; "to share", AdP 111) because the fish is so big that it is usually cut into parts or portions and shared out among the families.

(M) **WAILI** ['waili, wə'ʔaili] Get tangled in something. / RM. // 10. P(?).

(M) **WAI-WAI** ['wœi'wœi] The brown cabbage tree (*Pisonia grandis*), with sappy and sticky seeds, which were formerly used to catch flies. / RM 266. // 4. P.

M **WANA-WANA** ['wʌnʌ'wʌnʌ] A large sea urchin with long, delicate, tender prickles. Probably *Diademas savignyi* (LÅG). / RM 266. // 3. P.

M **WASING** ['wɔsiŋ] What. / RM 267 gives **what thing**. // 10. Ei.

M **WATAWE** ['wɔtə'we:] How. / RM 267. F Christian 1938 **whut er way**. *A Guide to Pitcairn* 1982:37 **wut a way**. // 10. Ei.

(M) (†) **WATER** ['wɔ:tʌ] A spring, there is a placename BROWN'S-WATER on the island. / RM 266-7. // 10. Ei.

(†) **WATER-GRASS** ['wɔ:tə'grɑ:s] See COW-GRASS. / – // 4. Ei.

WATER-TARO ['wɔ:tə'tɑ:lʌ] k.o. taro. / StJ. // 4. Ei, probably.

WEDA ['wedʌ] Castrated goat. / Shapiro 1936:318 **wether**. // 3. Ed, possibly with a slight change of meaning: EDD gives "a male sheep, esp. a castrated sheep" for wether or wedder.

M **WEHE** ['wIhI] To wrap up food (esp. PILAI) in banana leaves. / RM 267. IC 59 **whi-hi**. // 5. P.

M **WEKL** ['wekʊ] Food. / RM 266 **victuals**. *A Guide to Pitcairn* 1982:37 **wekle**. // 5. Epr.

(M) **WELL** [weʊ] Cistern made of concrete or corrugated iron, to collect rainwater. / RM 267. // 10. Ei.

M **WHAT-ONE** ['wɔ?'wʌn] Which (interrogative). / RM 267. // 10. Ei.

WHELK [weʊ] *Turbo* (Ra). / – // 3. Ei.

M **WHALE-BIRD** ['wIl'bɛ:d] The sooty tern, *Sterna fuscata oahuensis*. / RM 267. // 2. Ei, transfer.

(M) **WHISTLING-DAUGHTER** ['weslIŋ'dɔ:tʌ, 'wʌsəl'dɔ:tʌ] *Thalassoma lutescens* (Ra). Some islanders pointed out *Pseudojuloides atavai* as WHISTLING-DAUGHTER; the word is probably used for both these species. / RM 267 **whistle-daughter**. // 1. Ei, the fish probably got its name from some certain incident before 1858 (the word is used on Norfolk Island, too).

M **WHITE-BIRD** ['wœIt'bɛ:d] The fairy tern, *Gygis alba pacifica*. / RM 267-8. Young 1899. Nicolson 1965:138 (quotation from 1838) **white bird**. // 2. Ei, probably.

(M) **WHITE-FISH** ['wœIt'fIʃ] A fish resembling the JAWA; it is *Kuhlia marginata*, flagtail or mountain bass in English. / RM 268. // 1. Ei.

(†) **WHITE-SMOOTH** ['wœIt'smu:s] Very calm sea. / KBY 118. // 6. Ei, probably.

M **WHITE-STUFF** ['wœIt'stʌf] k.o. thistle, *Adenostemma lavenia*. / RM 268. // 4. Ei.

WHITE-SYDNEY ['wœIt'sIdnI] k.o. sweet potato. / – // 4. Opn, it was introduced by Sydney Christian ("Chips", 1880-1944).

M **WHITE-WATER** ['wœIt'wɔ:tə] Foam. / RM 268. // 6. Ei.

(†) **WICKET** ['wIkIt] In expr. SMART AS A WICKET ="beautiful, elegant, good-looking" (about girls). / – // 12. Ei(?).

(M) † **WII** k.o. fruit-tree, in English the Venus apple or Otaheite apple or Polynesia plum (*Spondias dulcis*). / RM 268. Wood 1849 **vhe**. // 4. P.

M **WILD-BEANS** ['wœIəld'bIənz] By far the most frequently used word for this k.o. beans, which are also known as FAAT-FAAT, LAB-LAB or MUSICAL-BEANS. Many islanders pick WILD-BEANS every Thursday during the season. / RM 268. // 4. Eam(?).

(†) **WILD-GLADIOLUS** ['wœIəld'glædIu:lʌs] k.o. plant, possibly a gladiolus. It was depicted on a Pitcairn Island postal stamp, issued in 1970 without further identification. // 4. Ei, probably.

(†) **WILD-JASMINE** ['wœIəl'dʒesme] k.o. plant: *Canthium odoratum* or *C. barbatum*. / LÅG 75 **wild jasmy**. // 4. Ei.

† **WILD-JOE** k.o. plant, *Peperomia*. The word is not known on Pitcairn today. / Maiden 1901. // 4. Ei(?).

(†) **/WILD-/PARSLEY** ['wœIəld'pɑ:əslI] The sea celery, *Apium prostratum*. /LÅG 87 // 4. Ei, probably.

† **WILD-TREE-BALSAM** A plant reported to have grown on Pitcairn in 1932. The wild balsam apple, *Echinocystis lobata* ? / Cr. // 4. Ei, probably.

WILLIAM[1] ['wIljʌm] In expr. like DAA'S UNI WILLIAM and YOU SE WILLIAM, both meaning (i) "that's nothing to worry about", or (ii) "you've become angry without reason". "I hate that word: people have died because they didn't go to see a doctor, since they didn't want to risk to be called WILLIAM" (Pi). / KBY 105. // 10. Opn, William Christian (1860-1934) was a sensitive person who could stand no nonsense.

WILLIAM[2] ['wIljʌm] In expr. YOU SAME AS WILLIAM, which is a synonym to DAA'S UNI WILLIAM and YOU SE WILLIAM above. / – // 12. Opn, after William Christian (1860-1934).

(†) **WINTER-WEED** ['wIntʌ'wIəd] k.o. plant, the mouse-ear chickweed (*Cerastium vulgatum*). / LÅG 12. // 4. Ei, probably.

M **WIPE-FEET** ['wœI?'fi:t] Doormat. / RM 268. // 10. Ei.

M **WOLA-WOLA** ['wʌlʌ'wʌlʌ] Too loosely woven (of a basket). / RM 268. // 7. P.

M **WOOD-PIGEON** ['wʊd'pɪdʒən] The endemic Henderson Island fruit dove, *Ptilinopus purpuratus insularis*. / RM 268. // 2. Ei, a transfer.

(†) **WORK-BASKET** ['wɛ:k'bɑ:skɪʔ] k.o. basket with lid. / Ward. // 7. Ei.

WULI ['wʊlɪ] A strong puff of wind. / – // 10. Ou. AZ 104 records willy with a similar meaning on Tristan da Cunha.

(M) **YA** [jʌ] Here. Also used to indicate "near to speaker", where other languages have demonstrative pronouns: 'EM PLUN YA = "these bananas" (compare 'EM PLUN YONDER = "those bananas"). / RM. Sanders 1959:289 **yah**. // 10. Epr.

(†) **YARD-OF-PUMP-WATER** ['jɑ:də'pʌm'wɔ:tʌ] Someone who is very skinny. / Clune (1966:216): "A skinny youth he described as 'a yard of pump water'." // 9. Ei.

(M) **YELLOW-COD** ['jelo'kɔ:d] k.o. fish "not caught shallower than 120 fathoms" (Pi). Sometimes, it is called TOUGH-COD. / RM 268. // 1. Ei.

† **YELLOW MICKELMAS** k.o. Pitcairn plant. The word was recorded in the 1930s; it is not known on the island nowadays. / LÅG 90. // 4. Ou.

M **YELLOW-NANWE** ['jelo'nænwɪ] "Almost like the ordinary NANWE, just a slight difference of colour" (Pi). / RM 268. // 1. EP, a compound of an English word and a Polynesian one.

YELLOW-SYDNEY ['jelo'sɪdnɪ] k.o. sweet potato. / – // 4. Opn, but it is not clear what Sydney.

(M) **YELLOW-TAIL** ['jelo'teɪl] The yellowfin tuna (Ra). / RM 268. // 1. Ei.

(†) **YES-MAM** ['jes'mʌm] To make something worse when you try to make it better. / – // 7. Ei, a man from a whaler said "Yes, mam!" when asked to repair a pot – and broke it completely! This happened many, many years ago.

M **YOLI** ['jɔ:'lɪ] You (only in the plural). / RM 236. F Christian 1938 **yorlly**. Marden 1957:737 **yawly**. Sanders 1959:289 **yolly**. KBY 104 **yawley, yorly**. // 10. Ou: English you all or Tahitian 'orua.

YONDER ['jɔnʌ] Over there. Used to indicate "away from speaker" where other languages have demonstrative pronouns (see YA). See also DOWN-YONDER and UP-YONDER above. / Sanders 1959:289 **yanna**. // 10. Ea.

M **YOU-PEOPLE** [ju'pi:pəl] You (only in the plural). / RM 269. // 10. Ei.

M **YOURN** [jɔ:n] Yours. / RM 269. // 10. Ei.

M **YOU'S** ['juəz] Your (said to one person; in the plural, forms like YOU-TWO'S, YOU-THREE'S and YOLI'S are used). / RM 269. // 10. Ei.

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THE PHONETICS OF PIDGIN AND CREOLE: TOWARD A STANDARD IPA TRANSCRIPTION

WARREN SHIBLES

1. INTRODUCTION: *Realphonetik*

The following is a presentation of the phonetics of: Cameroon, Nigerian and Jamaican Pidgin; Krio, Tok Pisin, and Trinidad. The phonetic transcription of pidgin and creole is rarely given. If it is given, the transcription is often inconsistent and the descriptions of the articulations of a number of sounds are controversial. For example, in research and language texts, a nonstandard IPA-pidgin or creole is given in place of standard IPA. An extended and precise rendering by the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA-1996) is developed here to provide a method by means of which to clarify these difficulties (see also 1996 IPA chart at end).

Contemporary work in linguistics has stressed abstractions and universals in phonemics and phonology, as well as the experimental approach, which, while valuable, have led to the neglect of phonetic analysis and phonetic transcription. A stereotyped or phonemic transcription is typically given instead of the actual sounds heard. The phoneme is concerned only with phonological 'sound'. Tătaru (1978:91) wrote, "Although his [F. Agard's] solution is acceptable from a purely phonologic-theoretical standpoint, as it simplifies things, it is incorrect from the point of view of the concrete phonetic characteristics" [articulatory and auditory]. The result is that the practical and accurate phonetic transcription of pidgin and creole is not easily accessible to the researcher, language teacher, or learner.

Kerswill and Wright (1990:272–273) point out problems with the reliability of present methods of transcription. Symbols are said to equivocate between describing place of articulation and auditory descriptions of sound; vowel quality is confused with vowel length, and formants are erroneously thought to be descriptions of vowel sounds. Orthography is virtually never an acceptable guide to pronunciation, although Cassidy (1993) has attempted to establish a phonetic orthography for English creoles of the Carribbean. He notes that Jamaican English is basically oral and that each writer has his or her own spellings, although in some cases standard spellings may be found in the *Dictionary of Jamaican English* (Cassidy and LePage 1967).

The method used here is the case or paradigm method of analysis. The main burden of the discussion is then carried by the presentation and analysis of specific examples, rather than on a broad transcription based on ideal phonemic entities in search of universal principles. Whereas the usual article on phonetics uses as few examples as is necessary to make such theoretical points, the reverse is the case here. Only by the examination of numerous specific examples of actual pronunciation can the sound-picture of pidgin and creole emerge. This sort of transcription is called here *Realphonetik*. For the language teacher or learner there are

Peter Mühlhäusler, ed. *Papers in pidgin and creole linguistics* No.5, 173–213.
Pacific Linguistics, A–91, 1998.

no universal phonemic rules of pronunciation which will allow one to correctly pronounce pidgin and creole. The rules, even if known, would be so complex as to preclude their memorisation and employment. If, on the other hand, a dictionary with IPA transcription were provided for the pronunciation of each word, each could be pronounced correctly. Therefore, after a critique of the literature on the sounds of pidgin and creole, a sample paradigmatic lexicon is provided here. Theoretical statements are grounded on and reducible to these given examples. They also provide the basis upon which to compare diverse transcriptions from the literature, thereby generating a comparative phonetics. This reveals the differences and reliability of transcription, but also its possibilities.

On the other hand, it is also clear that phonological, phonemic, experimental, pedagogical and other approaches are also useful and must be constantly integrated with the more narrow phonetic approach in order to obtain an adequate and holistic account. But it is also evident that the experimental and phonemic approaches are only as sound as the phonetic accuracy upon which they are based. Kelly and Local (1989:1, 26) writing about phonology state, "Phonetic records of spoken language material are the only serious starting point for phonological analysis and that they should be as detailed and accurate as possible...It is not possible to have too much phonetic detail." Although the purpose of this analysis is not to show or try to resolve the relationship between phonetics and other areas such as phonology, it must be noted that such relationships were found to be controversial. There is also concern on the practical level. An educated research position might rather take the view that each approach has something to offer, but that the concrete phonetic approach should no longer fall into neglect; it appears to be rather the sine qua non of analysis. The search for universals has led to the neglect of work on the basic subject matter of phonetics itself. Bailey (1978:141) expresses this view in his statement, "Theoretical phonetics and phonology have made great advances in the last decade or so, but the practical field of transcriptional phonetics has not done so."

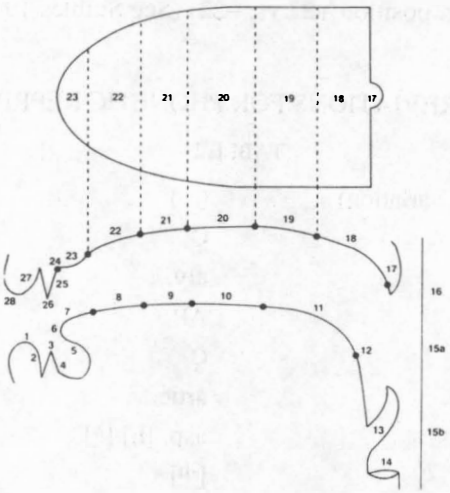
Phonemic transcription uses generic symbols such as /r/ and /ə/ which refer only to classes of sounds rather than to the specific sound spoken, that is, they do not refer to the phonetic [r] and [ə]. The phonemic slash lines / / are often illegitimately replaced by phonetic brackets, e.g. [r] is given when the sound is actually [ʁ]. The following chart is more complete than necessary for pidgin and creole, but it serves to allow for phonetic comparison with other languages and to show what does not occur in pidgin and creole. Also, as will be shown in Tok Pisin, a pidgin and creole language often adopts the pronunciation of the other languages of the speaker. Thus, an expanded list of phonetic symbols is given here which may be used to represent the phonetic sounds of any language.

In regard to a standard pronunciation or orthography for Tok Pisin, there does not seem to be one, although a standard orthography booklet was published in 1956 (discussed in Wurm, Laycock and Mühläusler 1984:128, 135). There is rather tolerance for the pronunciation of each group of speakers, although some mocking or disparagement does exist (See Wurm 1985b). This may be contrasted with British 'Received Pronunciation' which problematically sets a standard for English (See Shibles 1995a).

Lynch (1990:387–397) recommends a national language institute, standard written language and dictionaries for Tok Pisin (p.396). The problems with this approach may be compared with the problems of establishing a standard English. In any case, if one is to write standard or nonstandard texts and dictionaries, it is here argued that the IPA phonetic symbolism be used, especially in dictionaries. A dictionary without IPA precludes anyone

from knowing how the language is pronounced. It is unscientific and a serious phonetic deficiency that few of the dictionaries of the world's languages use phonetics of any kind and those that do are often not standard or careful IPA phonetics. Whether or not a language is standard we require at least a standard phonetic system in which to render it, and this, in practice, we do not have.

2. STANDARD ARTICULATION DIAGRAM AND DESCRIPTIONS



T = tongue, L = lip

1. lip (L), midlabial (outer L = exolabial)
2. inner lip, endolabial
3. tip of teeth (3–26 = interdental)
4. lower, inner teeth (postdental: upper, mid, or lower)
5. underside T
6. T tip
7. T apex
8. blade, front, laminal (lamino-)
9. predorsal (middle)
10. mediodorsal (middle)
11. postdorsal, back
12. T root (radical, radico-)
13. epiglottis
14. glottis, vocal cords
15. rear pharyngeal wall
    a. 12–15$_a$, upper pharynx, oropharynx
    b. 12–15$_b$, lower pharynx, laryngopharynx, "emphatic"
    (Also, the larynx may be raised or lowered.)
16. nasopharynx, velopharyngeal closure = 17–16
17. uvula, dorsovelar
18. velar, soft palate, velarisation = 11–18
19. prevelar, postpalatal, palatovelar
20. mediopalatal

21. prepalatal, palatoalveolar
22. postalveolar, alveopalatal
23. prealveolar, alveolar ridge = teeth ridge, (front, right, or left side)
24. dentoalveolar, gumline
25. inner, upper teeth (post dental: upper, mid, lower area)
26. tip of teeth
27. upper, inner L (for inner, use *endolabial*)
28. upper, mid L (for outer, use *exolabial*)

(+ = forward, – = back, e.g. position +22 vs. –22) (See Shibles 1993b, 1994g.)

3. SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS FOR PHONETIC REPRESENTATION[1]

TABLE 1

additional information (or a variation)	( )
advanced tongue root	ç̟
alveolar	alv.
American pronunciation	AP
apical	ç̺
articulation	artic.
aspiration	asp. [h] [ʰ]
(un-)aspirated	[ˣʰ]
author's artic. chart	= C+no. (e.g. [d] 7-25)
author's V chart	= V+no. (e.g. [Y] II 9.5)
becomes	>
(British) Received Pronunciation	RP
centralised Vowel (V)	(eg. ü) (V̈)
consonant	cons., C or [ᶜ]
dental	ç̪
equals or tautology	=
even (not diphthong)	pure, even
final	-C, -V
glide:	
a. offglide	Cᵛ or c Vᵛ or c
b. onglide	ᵛ or ᶜC ᵛ or ᶜV
c. offglide	[ᵛ] [ᶜ]
initial	C- V-
intonation:	$^{1\text{-}5}$ = low-high. [ˆ] =232, [ˇ] =323
	Bold $^{1\text{-}12}$ = low to high tones

(If [^{3}] shown, other intonations are usually [^{2}])

[1] Compare with the IPA-1989/1996 Chart for additional diacritical marks.

IPA-S	IPA transcription by W. Shibles
labialised (see rounded)	[ʷ W V̹]
laminal	C̻
language discussed is usually in italic	
laryngealised	C̰
lateral release (see stress symbol)	Cˡ
length (for V or C):	
half long	V'
long	V: or V꞉
half extra long	V꞉'
extra long	V:: or V꞉꞉
short	[V̆] (Compare C˺)
extra short	V̆̆
regular length	(no symbol)
linking	C‿V
lip(s)	L
lip protrusion	L pr.
loud-soft or soft loud (Swedish)	ɕ
medial	-C-, -V-
nasalised	Ṽ
omitted	(Use strikethrough) e.g. (ɗ)(–)
palatalisation	pal., [ʲ] [ⁱ]
pause	[.] to [.....]
pharyngealised (upper, lower) (ʔ ≠ ʕ)	phg, [ˤ]
phoneme or non-IPA symbol	/ /
phonetic symbol (IPA is in larger type)	[ ]
prevoiced	ˬC
r untrilled	r ˗ʳ
raised V, C	V̝
range (see also "variation")	
release (partial to unreleased)	V˺ C˺
retracted T root	C̠
rhoticity (should be replaced)	˞, e.g. ɚ › ɸɪ)
(less) rounded	V̜
(more) rounded (see labialised)	V̹
similarity	≈
simultaneity	C͡V
slash sign	(e.g. a/o = a or o) /
spread lips	spr. L

strength/intensity (weak to strong)	o̍ o̍ o ó ő
stress (primary)	[ˈV]
stress (secondary) (see syllabic)	[V,]
syllabic (see stress)	(e.g. n̩) [V̩]
(no) syllabic break	V̯
syllabic break (see pause)	(e.g. pa.sa) [.]
tongue	T
unacceptable form, or footnote	*
uncertainty, unintelligibility	?
usually	usu.
variation (see "range")	var.
velarised or phg	(e.g. ɬ) [~]
velarisation (C͡ɣ preferred. ˠ ≠ ɣ)	vel, or [ˠ]
voiced	ç̬
voiceless	ç̥
vowel	V or [ᵛ]

4. STANDARD PHONETIC REPRESENTATION OF VOWELS

4.1 EXTENDED IPA-S VOWEL CHART

T͡L	range		round	close* front			central tongue high			back		round
y = i͡u	i̪ - u̪	i_1	y_9				$\dot{\imath}_{17}$	$\dot{\textbf{ʉ}}_{18}$			$\dot{\textbf{ɯ}}_{16}$	u_8
		$\imath_{1.5}$	$\dot{\textbf{y}}_{9.5}$								$\dot{\textbf{ɯ}}_{15.5}$	$\dot{\textbf{u}}_{7.5}$
ø = e͡o	e̪ - ɣ̪	e_2	ϕ_{10}								$\dot{\textbf{ɤ}}_{15}$	o_7
		$\dot{\textbf{e}}_{2.5}$	$\dot{\phi}_{10.5}$				ə	ɵ			$\dot{\textbf{ɤ}}_{14.5}$	$\dot{\textbf{o}}_{6.5}$
œ = ɛ͡ɔ	ɛ̪ - ʌ̪	ε_3	$œ_{11}$				ɜ				Λ_{14}	$ɔ_6$
		$æ_{3.5}$	$\dot{œ}_{11.5}$				ɐ				$\dot{\Lambda}_{13.5}$	$\dot{\textbf{ɔ}}_{5.5}$
ɶ = a͡ɒ	a̪ - ɑ̪	a_4	$ɶ_{12}$								$ɑ_5$	$ɒ_{13}$
				I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VI I		
				open			tongue low			back		

* T͡L = Tongue is in the articulation position for i and the lips are in the position for u.

4.2 KEY WORDS FOR THE EXTENDED VOWEL CHART

The following are key words, taken from actual transcription, as a guide for each vowel symbol. One may select one's own words suitable to one's own language and dialect.

Languages other than English are used for front rounded vowels because the latter tend not to occur in English except in dialect, emotional or dramatic usage. The schwa ə, ɜ, ɵ, ɐ, ʉ, ɨ are not indicated because they are redundant and may be more precisely represented by centralising other vowels as follows. Furthermore, any additional vowel can be centralised, for example, ø̈, œ̈, ä, ö (see discussion of schwa below).

English (AP) Key Words

i	be	æ	bad	ɒ̟	ball	ʌ	but
ɪ	big	a	bar	o	bone	ʌ̟	up
e	bay	ɑ	baa	o̟	bore	ɛ̟	yes
e̟	air	ɒ	hot (RP)	u	boot		
ɛ	bet	ɔ	bob	ʊ	book		

4.3 DESCRIPTION OF EXTENDED VOWEL CHART

4.3.1 In developing the extended vowel chart, the attempt has been made to retain the symbols and the basic descriptive and relational import of the IPA chart (Shibles 1993a).

4.3.2 The Cardinal vowels 1 to 4, 8 to 5, 9 to 12, 16 to 13, are close to open. The phone [ɑ] actually belongs in the unrounded, and the phone [ɒ] in the rounded column, but to keep traditional numerical order, they are placed as shown.

4.3.3 Gaps in the IPA chart have been filled by the addition of the diacritic [̟] to the standard vowels, plus a fractional Cardinal number. Example: e̟ 2.5 [ɪ] and [ʏ] have also been numbered. An example is [ɯ̟] for Japanese. This latter symbol is equivalent to 15.5 on the chart.

4.3.4 The position of any sound may be located on the chart in several ways :

a. By symbol and column number, e.g. i III, ʏ III.

b. By Cardinal number and column number, e.g. 1 III, or 9 III. This has the advantage of not requiring a special phonetic font.

c. If desired, each square may be further divided into four sections:

a	b
c	d

Thus, one can specify: i III c, or 6.5 V a.

4.3.5 EQUIVALENCE

Every vowel may be defined in terms of every other vowel. Example: [ɯ = ɻ]. Although an equivalent, it may be sometimes more accurate to express [œ] as ʌ̟˧ 14 III. [o = ʊ̟, ʊ = o̟]. To avoid redundancy, these latter two equivalents may be used only to locate sounds between two adjacent symbols. Accordingly, [ʊ̟] is closer to [ʊ] than [o], [o̟] is closer to [o] than [ʊ]. A range of equivalencies is given to the right of the chart. Example: The [y] may range from [ɻ] to [ɯ̟]. These equivalencies may be used for narrow transcription, for example, 14.5 may be better represented for a certain sound by [ʌ̟] than by [ɤ̟].

4.3.6 The schwa [ə] and central vowels [ɜ, ɵ, ɐ] are unnecessary. They can be more accurately represented by diacritics or other vowels. Example: ə = ë, ɵ = ø̈ or ö, ɜ = ë. It is

not the case, as is usually thought, that all unaccented vowels reduce to a single generic *wild card* schwa sound. None do, and it is preferred to keep the original quality of the reduced vowel. Example: Danish *uge* 'week' is [uːˑɑ], not [uːˑə] as it is given. French *que* [kə] is actually [k̟] or [kœ]. Swiss *aber* is [abr], not [abər]. IPA defines [ɜ] as any "additional mid-central vowel". This is unnecessary, vague and confusing. (For a full analysis of the schwa, see Shibles 1994e.)

4.3.7 Cardinal 17 [i̽] and Cardinal 18 [ʉ̽] are also unnecessary (or inelegant) as they can be rendered by centralised signs: [ɨ] and [ʉ], respectively. The Cardinal numbers 17 and 18 can be omitted. Maddieson (1984:147) says that /i̽/ is perceptually close to /ɯ/. Thus, we may give [i̽ = ʉ̟], or regard ɨ as different from ʉ̟.

4.3.8 To the left of the chart is a column headed T͡L which means, for example, for [i͡u] the tongue is in the place of articulation for [i], but the lips are in the position for [u]. These simultaneous articulations produce [y], thus [y = i͡u] (See Shibles 1994f). The tongue moves forward from rounded [uː] of German *lugen*, to [yː] of *lügen*, and from [ʊ] of *Stuck* to [ʏ] of *Stück*. Symbols for front, round vowels are useful, though not absolutely necessary, because they may be replaced by rounding the unrounded counterpart of each pair. Example: [y = i̹]. Conversely, [i] may be reduced to [y̟].

4.3.9 The chart may also be used for consonants in order to specify tongue position, roundness and openness. Example: [ç] is a closer [i]. Approximants, semivowels, and fricatives are already vowel-like. Not all words have vowels.

4.3.10 The acceptable range, or sound space, may be plotted on the chart. Example: /o/ = 6.5/7 VI to VII. That is, the range of the pronunciation of /o/ is in these four squares.

4.3.11 It is often stated that all vowels are voiced. This all-statement is countered by the observation that there are, for example, voiceless vowels in Spanish and Japanese.

5. CLARIFICATION AND EXPANSION OF IPA PHONETICS

"Transcription is a messy thing". Kerswill and Wright (1990:273)

Kerswill and Wright (1990), as well as others mentioned below, have noted serious problems with phonetic transcription and reliability. Therefore a number of proposals are made here in order to put phonetic transcription on a more scientific basis and provide for more narrow and reliable transcription.

5.1 THE PHONETICS VERSUS PHONEMICS CONTROVERSY: A BRIEF CRITIQUE AND REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

5.1.1 INTRODUCTION

One test of a genuinely healthy science is its practice of aggressively criticising its own concepts and methods. One way of providing such a self-criticism is by exposing controversies which are either not recognised, silenced, denied or simply ignored. What I call here the 'Phonetics versus Phonemics Controversy' will accordingly be addressed.

An examination of the literature on the controversy is presented revealing that there are a number of serious unresolved issues in phonemics and phonology which are not being adequately faced, such as: 1) their relation to phonetics, 2) the definition of a phoneme, 3)

mentalism, 4) universalisation, abstraction and idealisation, 5) theory of meaning, 6) idealistic rules, 7) lack of adequate phonetic grounding, 8) lack of usefulness for language teaching, 9) segmental atomism and semantic exclusion, 10) theory of emotion, 11) theory of evaluative language, etc.

While on the one hand phonology and phonemes are regarded as being the central methodological paradigms and models for the analysis of speech sounds, some have objected that they have serious shortcomings. "The phoneme theory seems to us to have nothing interesting to offer. Indeed it has done a lot more harm than good" (Kelly and Local 1989:6). For example, Foley (1977:3) states, "Transformational phonetics is vitiated by philosophical errors, three of which are descriptivism, reductionism, and simplicitism...The philosophy of science...is fundamentally erroneous".

We can become captivated by a model, or commit the metaphor-to-myth fallacy. In this case, phonology appears to have replaced phonetics to such an extent that there has been little recent research done on phonetics as such: "Little has been [done] in transcriptional phonetics as has been done in phonology" (Bailey 1978:141–149). Phonemics "even disparaged phonetics" (Kelly and Local 1989:1). Only now are standard vowel charts and articulation diagrams being developed (see Shibles 1993a, 1993b, 1994g). Phonology seems to have replaced phonetics.

The position held here is that each model: phonology, phonetics, etc. is an hypothesis or root metaphor which serves to give insight. No model is absolutely true or absolutely false. *A fortiori* it is not argued here that if phonetics is well-founded then phonology is not. On the other hand, we cannot merely discount or ignore prevailing criticisms. The present account will accordingly concentrate on this largely neglected critical literature.

There are numerous theories and different definitions of the phoneme. Jones said, "I find all the attempted definitions of the phoneme to be unsatisfactory" (1967b:216). Palmer (1972:79–81) observes that the phoneme has been alternatively defined as: distinctive sound features, a psychological equivalent of speech, a mental construct (competence), a phonic image, contextually exclusive sounds. To this may be added others such as concepts from: nonsegmental, autosegmental, suprasegmental, synchronic, diachronic, prosodic, and metrical phonology.

5.1.2 MENTAL PHONOLOGY

One prevalent definition of the phoneme is given in terms of meaning. It is a minimal contrastive sound unit such that the substitution of one phoneme for another causes a change in meaning. In view of the recent work in philosophical psychology, it can no longer be held that mentalistic meanings exist, without first presenting one's arguments. "Ghostly entities such as meanings, sense or ideas provide no more than the ghost of an explanation" (Scheffler 1979:11). It is no longer acceptable to use the word *meaning* (or its synonyms: semantic, morpheme, phoneme, thought, etc.) without defining it.

Mythical *meaning* has appeared fashionably in the literature as a *speech act* (Searle 1969). A mental *act* can be just as mentalistic as meaning (see Kempson 1977). Parker (1986:86) states, "Phonology is the study of mental or psychological phenomena". Hammerly (1991:173) regards generative phonology as mentalistic, rather than as physical. Accordingly, the phoneme bracket / / refers to the mental, and the phonetic bracket [ ] refers

to the actual pronunciation. Chomsky, with his widely-known notions of "deep structure" and inner "competence," is also a mentalist. About this Milroy (1985:175) states, "There are considerable problems in the assumption that theoretical linguistic constructs have any kind of analogue outside of linguistic data".

Another mentalistic relic found in contemporary linguistic literature is the word *mind* itself. Sloat, Taylor and Hoard (1978:4) state that in phoneme theory, "the mind is disposed to consider some aspects of sound more significant than others". Ryle (1949:40) calls this the "Cartesian myth". He wrote, "Mind is a ghost in the machine...The phrase 'in the mind' can and should always be dispensed with". Chomsky's terms "deep structure" and "inner mental processes" yield deep confusion to this issue (Gethin 1990:151ff.).

5.1.3 PHONEMES AS IDEAL ABSTRACTIONS

"The aim of phonology is...to make as general statements as possible about the nature of sound systems" (Crystal 1980:269). "In the sense of a single, unified system there is no such thing as structure in language" (Gethin 1990:89). *Phone* refers to the actual phonetic sound, but *phoneme* refers to a theoretical fiction (Crystal 1980:265, Lass 1984:23). "Phonemes do not actually exist: they are theoretical constructs". (Standwell 1991:139). On this view, phonemes are generic, standing for classes of sounds, not for particular sounds. Jones (1973:172) beileved that a phoneme is either a family of sounds or an abstract conception. In this sense, phonemes cannot be either heard or pronounced. "No one has ever uttered a phoneme or a distinctive feature" (Parker 1986:86).

Maddieson (1984:160) notes that some phonologists believe that phonology should concern itself only with purely abstract concepts. Gethin (1990:150) says, "Abstraction is totally irrelevant to what language is, how it actually works". The main purpose of the phoneme is said to remove the study away from actual phonetic detail (Lass 1984:23). Gethin (1990) and Hammerly (1991:175) hold that the features in the Chomsky-Halle system are useless to the language learner. As a result, transformationalists, for example, are accused of overstatement, using superficial data and in this sense being unscientific (Foley 1977:1–11).

5.1.4 PHONEMIC RULES

"If logicians had their way, language would become as clear and transparent as glass, but also as brittle as glass" (Waismann 1968:23). If phonemics are fictions, however useful, the rules relating them are fictive as well. Can we establish all the phonemic rules? The supra-segmental rules are virtually absent. Ladefoged (1980:496) wrote, "Phonology... patterns are not necessarily used in any way by the speakers of the language," and "Most of them [phonological features and rules] are completely unnecessary for adequate descriptions of speakers and listeners". Foley (1977:1, see ix) states, "Transformational phonetics...has nothing to say about the actual nature of language, only about the writing system". Rules and laws are often presented in such a way as to commit the All-Fallacy. This is exemplified by the following statement: Resnick (1975:7) speaks of the "vowel, which is always voiced, of course". But vowels are sometimes voiceless, for instance, in Ik and Japanese.

5.1.5 PHONEMES ARE NOT PHONETIC

Lindblad (1980:170) shows in detail how phonemicists add or exclude sounds to suit the simplicity of the system, while ignoring the actual sounds spoken. He speaks of "system constructs, that is, analyses that increase the elegance of a description at the expense of natural phonetic...relationships" (p.204). Local (1983:449) calls phonological theories reductionistic: "This smoothing or filtering out of variability...often appears to be done for no better reason than to oblige data to fit simplistic phonological theories". In these respects, phonology is a threat to narrow transcription.

The phonemes /ə/, and /r/ are used generically and not for actual sounds. When /ə/ is used it can be shown that it is more accurately represented by another vowel. As a class symbol, ə does not represent a sound at all. In other words, if we see the phonemes /ə/ and /r/, we will not know how to pronounce them. From the viewpoint of descriptive phonetics, phonemics and phonology are pseudo-phonetic. "It is in fact impossible to teach anyone to produce an actual phoneme, which is after all an abstraction" (Standwell 1991:140).

5.1.6 PHONETICS AS THE BASIS OF PHONOLOGY

"Without good phonetics there can be no good phonology" (Buckingham and Yule 1987:123). Relatively few languages have been transcribed phonetically, and only a few of the languages of the world are transcribed using the International Phonetic Alphabet. "How dimly understood the 'phonetic basis' of phonology is" (Lass 1984:121). As true today is the following statement by Bailey (1978:141–149): "Phonology suffers from...inadequate transcription data". Transcriptions are notoriously unreliable, places of articulation are not known, diverse and inadequate symbolisms are used, and IPA phonetic dictionaries of only a few languages are available. In consequence, Lindblad (1980:203) notes: "Distinctive feature analysis presumes a phonetic description. If relevant aspects of the phonetic description are incomplete—which is the case for the Swedish /ʃ/ sound—then the phonological distinctive feature analysis cannot be correct".

Ladefoged (1980:485-495) objects that the features of phonology, for example, in the work of Chomsky and Halle (1968), do not give full or adequate descriptions of speech sounds. Now even the most professional works on language often give incorrect phonetics (see Shibles 1993ab, 1994abcdefgh, 1995ab).

5.1.7 ARE PHONEMES USEFUL?

"Phonology is...useless as a tool for language pedagogy" (Hammerly 1991:173). "Far from the phoneme being of any assistance to the language teacher, it is rather a red herring" (Standwell 1991:139). "One of the few branches of linguistics that I believe may have practical value is phonetics" (Gethin 1990:89).

The teaching of language requires that *each* word be pronounced correctly. What is required is a dictionary giving what is generally thought to be the correct IPA pronunciation, such as the *Oxford English Dictionary* (1989), or the *Duden Aussprachewörterbuch* (1990). Even here more narrow transcription is required. Hammerly (1991:175) states that from the perspective of language learning, phonemic rules are "absurd".

These views are expressed in the following: "Generative phonology can have only minor coincidental effects on something as practical as the teaching of second language pronunciation" (Hammerly 1991:176). Foley (1977:11) wrote of the "irrelevance of transformational phonetics to the problems of natural languages". Gethin (1990:63) says that structural analysis has little practical value for the language learner and, in fact, "tends to bog students down".

5.1.8 HOLISTIC PHONETICS

"Virtually all past studies of intonation and attitude have been unsatisfactory" (Couper-Kuhlen 1986:180). Phonetics and phonology have for the most part used the atomistic *segmental* approach to speech sounds. Objections may be raised to this picture regarding:

a. Rigid Segmental Atomism

Some have therefore developed suprasegmental and nonsegmental phonologies.

b. Semantic Exclusion

"Prosodic categories are ill-defined in phonetics" (Rischel 1990:400). Phonemic and phonetic description typically excludes pitch, tempo, loudness, rhythm, force, tone, the quality or timber of the voice, etc. If all we know is the usual phonetics for a sentence we will not be able to know what is genuinely meant by that sentence.

c. Cognitive Implicatures

"Every spoken word or phrase conveys meanings that are not present in the words" (Bolinger 1980:11). But they are present in the words in the forms of pronunciations. Even single sounds have associations. From a tone of voice we can to a large extent determine one's way of life and belief systems. Collier (1985:125) states, "A person's tone of voice is often seen as a more accurate representation of what the person feels" than does what a person says. These non-denotative levels of meaning are conveyed by suprasegmental or voice qualities the knowledge of which is minimal. Wells (1982, vol.1:91) speaks of "voice quality...where our ignorance of the facts is considerable". In spite of its significance, the suprasegmental level has been thought to be superfluous, unnecessary and "optional" (Stockwell and Bowen 1965).

d. Evaluative Implicatures

Our descriptions of phonetic sounds are not objective, but evaluative. Sounds are spoken of as if they have objective physical existence as sounds. They do not. To describe an entity as a sound is, in part, evaluative. Similarly, *Music* ('good sound') is an evaluative term. The same is the case with other terms describing sounds: noise = discord, bad sounds; speech = sounds which are *proper* to language. This is also the case with the abstract symbols of phonology.

e. Emotive Implicatives

"Attitudinal factors are present in every utterance" (Couper-Kuhlen 1986:182). Phonology and phonetics exclude emotive meaning. Knowles (1987:206–207) observes, "Although the attitudinal approach to intonation is a long-established one, very little is actually known in this area". Stankiewicz (1964:247) notes both the failure to attend to emotional features as well as the inadequacy of theories of emotion.

The cognitive theory of emotion (Rational-Emotive Theory) remains to be applied to linguistics and phonetics. Work has been done to show that particles and interjections are not meaningless filler words, but have both full cognitive and emotive meaning (Shibles 1989abc). The theory has also been used to clarify German emotive reflexives, as well as verbal abuse (*Schimpfen*) (Shibles 1990ab, 1992). The theory has not to my knowledge been otherwise used to clarify the emotive and attitudinal features of phonetics. However, it is necessary to do so in order to achieve an understanding of the holistic suprasegmental nature of phonetics.

5.1.9 SUMMARY

The International Phonetic Alphabet provides a solid basis for phonetics. This basis may be extended to include the total cognitive, emotive and behavioral context. This goes beyond phonemes, contrastive meanings, or a short list of features. Put simply, we need a phonetics which is detailed enough so that we can determine what a person is saying in everyday conversations. It is this which therapists and speech therapists also need to know in clinical situations. "We must recognise the multiple functions of sounds in a language" (Stankiewicz 1964:247). Sounds are not mere sounds. Aspects of sounds which seem to be irrelevant are often essential to grasp the meaning. All of the sound is needed to convey the full meaning of speech. Phonetics and phonology may now include cognitive-emotive intonation in the analysis of sounds.

Griffin (1991:182) presented a supposedly more "natural" non-segmental approach to teaching pronunciation whereby the full contextual, emotive and cognitive meaning is attended to. The holistic approach is taken by Ochs and Schieffelin (1989:22) who state, "Affect permeates the entire linguistic system".

The controversy, phonemics versus phonetics, is not seen here as an either-or issue, but rather one of appreciating what each paradigm has to offer, and finding ways in which they can be mutually supportive. Although Bailey (1978:141–149) is highly critical of phonology for not transcribing phonetically, he proposes a science of "phonetology" which can better integrate phonology with phonetics. What is not acceptable, however, is for linguists to continue to ignore the critical literature or become captivated by their model to the exclusion of sound phonetic research.

In the next section, it is shown how the phonetic symbols themselves interrelate, are equivalent, and extend the possible ways in which they relate to one another. The practical use of IPA symbols may thereby be expanded. This will be followed by a paradigmatic and comparative IPA phonetic transcription lexicon of various pidgin and creole languages.

5.2 SYMBOL EQUIVALENCE IN PHONETICS

> 'A thing is identical with itself.' There is no finer example of a useless proposition, which yet is connected with a certain play of the imagination. It is as if in imagination we put a thing into its own shape and saw that it fitted. (Wittgenstein 1958:84)

5.2.1 TYPES OF EQUIVALENCE

A basic principle of the International Phonetic Alphabet is to use one symbol for one sound: "When two sounds occurring in a given language are employed for distinguishing one word from another, they should whenever possible be represented by two distinct letters without diacritical marks" (PIPA 1984:1). Roach (1989:70) states even more forcefully, "Only one way of representing a given sound should be allowed on the [IPA] chart". However, each symbol is, by the use of diacritical marks, equivalent to other symbols, for example, ʉ = ü, y̪ = f. The following is an analysis of the meaning of equivalence in phonetic symbolism, and a demonstration of how equivalence may be used to show relationships between sounds and produce narrow transcription. (Phonetics is in brackets [ ].) It is observed that each sound may be defined by various combinations of these symbols to produce equivalencies and similarities. Equivalencies are shown to be: 1) stipulated, 2) tautologies or identities, 3) circularities, 4) question begging, 5) synthetic or descriptive. The descriptive and definitional equivalencies show how the relationships and the combinations of symbols may be used to produce greater phonetic accuracy and narrow transcription. In this way, IPA symbolism is extended in its use and its full heuristic power is manifested. Extensive equivalencies are given for each IPA (1996) vowel and consonant (See also Shibles 1994h).

First, the notion of *equivalence* must be clarified. Equivalence may be analysed into a number of types:

a. Stipulation

This is arbitrary, such as, *Let unstressed o = ə.* As stipulative, it is devoid of descriptive content. One symbol merely stands for another. Nothing new is known about the sound, [o]. It is like giving a cat a new name. In phonemics, as opposed to phonetics, an abstract or ideal symbol is stipulated to represent all allophones and instances of a sound in a broad transcription (See Standwell 1991:138-139).

b. Tautology or Identity

Tautologies are less than synonyms; they are empty stipulations. Thus, symbolic logicians say that tautologies say nothing about anything. No two sounds can be identical and still be two sounds. Wittgenstein (1958:84) pointed out that it is singularly uninformative to say of something that it is identical with itself. Twins are not identical, but similar. There is no absolute equality. Therefore, identity becomes similarity (≈), (= > ≈) if it is to be intelligible.

c. Circularity

By *analytic* in the philosophy of science, is meant that the predicate is contained in the subject. No empirical evidence is needed for its assertion because it is true by definition. The denial of the predicate results in a contradiction, for example, *Phonetics is the study of speech sounds, Speech is sounds, Pharyngeal constriction = retracted tongue root.* Or, where C refers to a consonant, C^{γ} = ϵ, C̭ = C, C^{w} = Ç.

d. Begging the Question

A form of circularity or equivalence is to assume what is to be proved. Phonemics would beg the question by using universal, broad transcription to obtain narrow transcription. To always use ə for a reduced vowel, or generic /r/, begs the question as to their actual phonetic values.

e. Synthetic Statement

According to the philosophy of science, these are empirical statements requiring experience and evidence for their assertion. In order to know what the Chinese [ɕ] is like, we must listen, observe the articulation, and gather experimental evidence. The denial of the predicate, does not result in a contradiction. *ʃ is a voiced, palatal plosive*, is a synthetic statement.

f. Descriptive Equivalence

Descriptive statements are synthetic statements. What is described in phonetics are symbols or statements which are operationally defined to give as much precise descriptive information about a sound as possible.

Category-mistakes result when one type of equivalence is confused with another. The symbol i̪ may be stipulated or analytically defined as being equivalent to ɪ̪. But ɪ may be perceived to have a different sound quality than i such that they are not equivalent. We may distinguish i̪ from ɪ̪ in narrow transcription. Similarly, ĩ may be distinguished from ɪ. Thus, although these two symbols may be *defined* as being equivalent, they may be *described* as being different.

In actual transcription there is less subtle confusion because ɪ is often used interchangeably with i, meaning that the reader would not know which pronunciation is the correct one. An examination of five dictionaries produced the following variations for *city*: siti, sɪtɪ, sɪ.ti, sĩti, sɪtɪ/i. Jones (1973) gives for British *play*, pleɪ, instead of plei, [it] for *it*, but he proceeds to use i also for i (Jones 1967a:xliv). Kenyon and Knott (1949:331) render *pity* as pɪtɪ, instead of pɪti. Ladefoged (1975:53) gives seif for *safe*, not seɪf, but he says *bid* can be translated as bid, instead of bɪd. Catford (1988:40), for the German *ich*, gives iç instead of ɪç. Einarsson (1945) uses ɪ for i, and i for ɪ in the transcription of Icelandic. Huang (1969:2) is incorrect in holding that ɪ does not exist in Chinese. It appears, for instance, in *Ch'in* tɕiⁿ. ɪ̪ is not equivalent to i̪, and *a fortiori*, neither is ɪ equivalent to i. We may, however, use ɪ̪ for a raised ɪ, and i̪ for a lowered i, where there is no equivalence.

5.2.2 SYMBOL EQUIVALENCE

Each vowel may in some sense be described, and so defined, in terms of every other vowel. It is in these senses that the symbols may be seen to be equivalent. These equivalencies reveal: a) the connections of sounds (or articulations) to symbols, b) the relationships between symbols, c) the relationships between the sounds (or articulations). Each symbol reduces to concrete acoustic, articulatory, or other features which are thus related to each other. By *equivalence* is not meant equality or identity (=), but that close similarity (≈) prevails based on certain features of the sounds. Each equivalence may then be explicated for the insight it may give toward more accurate acoustic description, better understanding of the articulations involved, display of the relationships to other symbols, clarity for the language learner, etc.

Ladefoged (1975:65) states, "There is no such thing as a single correct form of transcription of English; different styles are appropriate for different purposes". In the philosophy of science definitions are not literal descriptions of reality, but, to define is to take a model or metaphor. Thus, equivalencies provide such alternative possibilities. A knowledge of the possible equivalents for a particular sound gives the phoneticist or language

learner choice as to which equivalence best represents the sound in question, as the following example illustrates.

The plosives, p, t, k, are labeled unvoiced aspirates, and b, d, g are their voiced, unaspirated counterparts. They may be stipulatively defined this way such that *p is an unvoiced aspirate,* is a tautological equivalent. Alternatively, they may be described this way on the basis of empirical evidence. The definition is not the same as a description. On the definition that p = aspirated and voiceless, and that b = unaspirated and voiced, unaspirated p equals b̥, [p^{-h} = b̥]; aspirated b = voiced p, [b^{h} = p̬], and so forth. McKenna (1988:39) states in regard to German, "It would seem that the [t] of treu is completely unaspirated, and the [d] of *den* completely devoiced—the end result of both operations being, auditorily, the same". In practice, however, it may be observed that a sound can be closer to p^{-h} than to b̥, because the p quality is retained. In this case, p^{-h} is not descriptively equivalent to b̥, [p^{-h} ≠ b̥]. If other characteristics are added to the plosives such as lip pressure, lip protrusion, force, duration, etc., these plosives may lack equivalence as well. We may accordingly consider the description of plosives in various languages.

In Mandarin Chinese, *Ta* (Wade romanisation) = d̥a, *T'a* = t^{-h}a, but d̥ ≠ t^{-h}. d̥ may have the quality of d more than of t. In Bavarian, we may not be able to distinguish between s or z̥, b̥ or p^{-h}, for example, between *Packen* and *backen.* In Irish, *ispín* ɪʃ.b̥/p^{-h}in, b̥ and p^{-h} may be indistinguishable. In Swiss, *denn* may be d̥ɛ:n or tɛ:n. It may be hard to tell the difference between d̥ and t^{-h}. The phonetic symbol [̥] can mean not just voiceless, but partially voiced. In Icelandic, which has a special kind of syllabic aspiration, Einarsson (1945) gives $ɛ^{h}$pˑlɪ for what may rather be rendered as ɛ.h.b̥.li. In *saddur*, d̥ ≈ t^{-h}, in *lamb* b̥ ≈ p^{-h}.

Ladefoged (1975:26, 64) wrote, "There are...disagreements among texts on phonetics on how to transcribe sounds". The exploration of equivalents reveals the different kinds of nuance a certain basic or Cardinal symbol may reflect. The distinctions are more fine than sounds which are closely related, such as that in the Swiss (Jestetten) variations of *ich*, which are ɪʃ, ɪʒ and ɪx. Each feature description and diacritic may be used to find functional equivalencies, just as differences of pronunciation may be exposed when the orthography of one language is used to render another, for example, rendering English by the Russian Cyrillic alphabet, or Chinese characters. Hausa *so* may be heard as: sŏ, so^{ʔ}, or so$^{\grave{}}$. Swedish *te* 'tea' may be rendered as teĕ or te$^{\hat{}}$. Chinese añ$^{\grave{}}$ ≈ aň ≈ a^{n}. Arabic 'one' waːhɪḍ may be rendered by d̪ rather than by d̥ or d̆. Dutch χ is not equivalent to Arabic χ. The former is often more gutteral. In regard to h-sounds, Benware (1986:27) wrote, "There are as many 'h-sounds' as there are vowels". Bithell (1952:113) had earlier noted, "There is a question...whether h is a fricative, consonant or a vowel".

The expansion of the IPA symbolism provides one method by means of which some controversies in phonetics may be resolved. Given a range of equivalencies, a transcriber may choose the most fitting alternative and then compare with the choices of others. This may also serve the purpose of establishing a range of possible pronunciations. The analysis of the symbols may then show the specific differences between them.

The following equivalent or similar forms are given for use in either normal or narrow transcription. These equivalents are based largely on actual (IPA-S) transcription of various languages (*Realphonetik*). For example, the phonetic transcription is given as [i], which should be [j, i̯e, i̯, ɪ], and so forth. Where languages are transcribed with a simple Cardinal vowel, it is rather found to be the case that one or another of the simultaneities was in fact the

more correct transcription. Each alternate may be examined for its descriptive import, and the most appropriate one may be selected. The list is based on definitional equivalence as well as actual transcription. In a few cases the actual languages have been specified as illustrations. Some similarities occur only in fast speech. It is intended that researchers add their own examples as well so as to build a standard reference corpus. This may then serve as a checklist to see which alternatives would be best in a certain case. For vowels, the cardinal number is given first. The symbol (=) means: a) is defined as, b) is very similar, or c) is somewhat similar. The symbol ≠ means *is not equal, or not similar to.*

The following examples show:

a. Expanded Cardinal number equivalent.
b. Definitional equivalents.
c. Simultaneous-sound equivalents.
d. Equivalents based on diacritical modification.
e. Similarities based on diacritical modification.
f. Similar forms characteristic of particular languages.
g. Equivalents and similarities based upon actual transcription experience.
h. Examples of the use of the symbol for various languages.

For additional definitions of the symbols see also Pullum and Ladusaw (1986), and Catford (1988). For an inventory list of the sounds occurring in the major languages of the world, see Maddieson (1984). (V = vowel, C = consonant, # = Cardinal number, M = Maddieson 1984.)

5.2.3 EQUIVALENTS OR SIMILARITIES

5.2.3.1 VOWELS

#	Vowel =		≈ Alternative Similarities for Narrow Transcription
1	i	ɣ̟	j, i̯V ≈ j̯V, i̟e ≈ i̯e, ≈ ⁱe ≈ iᵉ, i̞ = i͡i, iˢ, i̤, i͡, i̥ (Ik, Japanese)
1.5	ɪ	ɣ̞	ɪ ≠ i͡, ɪ = i̥, œ̆ = ɪ, ɪ̱ = i͡i, ɪˢ (M:249), ≈ [ˢ], (CCD) gives range ɪ to ə.
2	e	ɸ̟	e̯ʌ = eˢ̈ (Swedish); ɛ̯i, eˢ, e̥ (Ik)
2.5	e̞	ɸ̞	For languages having e̞, see (M:249-250)
3	ɛ	œ̟	ɛ͡a ≈ æ (Swedish *päron* and AP *pear*), æ̆, ɛ̆ = ɛˀ
3.5	æ	œ̞	æ̈ ≈ ɐ (definitional), ≈ ɛ, æ͡ɤ (Swiss), æ ≠ ae
4	a	œ̱	Used generically for the range a to ɑ. ɑˢ (Lancashire, Picardie French), a̰, a̤
5	ɑ	ɒ̟	= ʁ (soft), ä (AP), ɑ͡ɒ (Irish), ɒ̞ (Glaswegian, Swiss)
5.5	ɔ̟	ʌ̞	= ɐ̯
6	ɔ	ʌ̱	= ɔ͡a, ɔ͡ɑ, ≈ ŏ, ɔˢ (!Xũ), ɔ̆ (Chinese), ɑ͡ɒ (Irish), ɑ̤ (Glasgow, Swiss)
6.5	o̟	ɣ̞	ɵ = ö, AP *or* [o̟ɪ], o̟ (Irish)

7	o	o̞	o̞ = very round o (Icelandic, Scottish, Turkish) (Payne 1990 uses o›), o̝ = less round o, o ≠ o̞, ŏ = ɔ̆, ŏ = o̞ = o˺ = ŏʔ = C^{o} = C^{ʏ}, o̜ (M:258, Tamang), o̬ (M:257, Ik)
7.5	ʊ	ʊ̟	≈ ɤ̈/œ̈, ŭ, ŭ̟, au = aw, C^{ʊ} = C^{u} (Japanese)
8	u	u̟	u̟ (French), u^{ʕ}, u̻, u̬, u̜, ou ≈ ow, Vu ≈ Vw, ŭ ≈ ʊ
9	y	ɻi, i͡u	= ʃu̟, əi͡u, y ≈ ü, = ÿ = ÿ, u (pal.), ≈ ü, y̆ ≈ ɪ, (range ɻi to ʊ̟)
9.5	ʏ	ɻɪ, i͡ʊ	≈ ö, y̆, (range ɻɪ to ʊ̟)
10	ø	e̞, e͡o	j̩ ≈ i̯ø, ɚ ≈ øɹ (AP *bird*), ø ≠ ∅ (Similar but different symbols.) (range e̞ to ɤ̞)
10.5	ø̞	ë̞, e̞͡o̞	(range ë̞ to ɤ̞̈)
11	œ	ɛ̞, ɛ͡ɔ	≈ ʁ̞, ʁ̞, œ̆ = ŭ, ≈ (Scottish) ɤ, (range ɛ̞ to ɐ̞)
11.5	œ̞	æ̞, æ͡ɔ̞	(range æ̞ to ɐ̞)
12	ɶ	a̞, a͡ɒ	(rarely used), (range a̞ to ɑ̞)
13	ɒ	ɑ̞,	≈ ʁ (Danish), ŏ, ɔ^{ʕ}, ɑ̞, ɒː (Bavarian, French, Scottish)
13.5	ɐ̞	ɔ̞˕	ɤ̈= ɐ, ə, ë, German ʌ > ɐ̞ or ɐ̞, *Nase* nɑzɐ̞; *Seo* = ʃɐ̞ (Irish)
14	ʌ	ɔ̞	≈ (initial) ʔ, = stressed ə (Tranel 1987:38) a̟̞, ≈ ă, = ɵ̞ = ö̞
14.5	ɤ̞	o̞˕	ɤ̞̃ (M:257, Zoque)
15	ɤ	o̞	≈ ʊ, ʁ, ɐ̞, vel. ʌ, ă, ɹ˺, ʌʏ, ŏ, œ̞
15.5	ʊ̟	ʊ̞	Variation of ʊ. Japanese, Chinese, Korean, Turkish, Russian, Scottish Gaelic; London dialect (Gimson 1966:129)
16	ʊ	ʊ̞	ɨ, ɨ̈, ɻ (Japanese), consonantal tense ʊ (So. Bantu), ʊ̈˺ (Chinese)
17	ɨ	ɨ̈	= ʊ̈, (ɨ is a redundant symbol.) ʊ̈ West Midlands (Orton and Dieth 1971:1271)
18	ʉ	ü	= ÿ, (ʉ is a redundant symbol.)

5.2.3.2 MID-CENTRAL VOWELS

(All are generically and inconsistently used, unnecessary, and controversial.)

ə	ë, ə̞̈, ɤ̈, o̞˕ etc.		Position varies.
ɵ	ɵ̈, ë̞, ɤ̞̈, ö̞.		Some regard this as round equivalent of ə.
ɜ	ë, œ̈, ä̈, ŏ		Roundness unspecified.
ɵ	ö̞, ɵ̈, ë̞̈, ɤ̞̈	ɵ ≠ θ	(Similar looking but different symbols.)
ɐ	æ̈, ɐ̈, ă, ä		Said to be unround. Position varies. Typically used for German *-er* endings. A "reduced [a]" (*Duden* 1974:11).

Rhoticity [˞] may be added to any symbol. Because ɛ˞ is often rounded, it is frequently equivalent to œ˞. The rhoticity symbol is generic, so does not specify the particular /r/ referred to.

It is also controversial to distinguish the mid-central vowels by stress. Shriberg and Kent (1982:48) give the following:

Stressed	Unstressed
ʌ	ə
ɜ˞	ə˞
ɜ	ə

IPA-1989 defines ɜ as an unspecified "additional mid central vowel". It may therefore be used to represent any other symbol. For this reason it may be regarded as a metasymbol. Mid-central vowels, including ʉ and ɨ, are not needed because they are redundant and because they are typically used generically rather than given a specific phonetic value. Thus, they are empty, unnecessary, and so inelegant symbols. For example, ə, by both tautological definition, as well as actual transcription, reduces in every case to another vowel: ə˞ = e̞͡ɪ (unstressed), ɜ˞ = ɛ̞͡ɪ (unstressed). German transcription uses ɐ for *-er* which is more descriptively rendered as a͡ʁ, for example *der* de:a͡ʁ. The symbol ʉ is written as either ü or ÿ, whichever seems closest to the actual sound. Therefore, the Cardinal vowels 17 and 18 may be omitted for the sake of accurate description, as well as for simplicity.

5.2.3.3 CONSONANTS (Equivalents and Similarities for Alternate Transcriptions)

b = p^{-h}, b˒≈ p˒, b̥ ≈ p^{-h} (Swiss and many languages), b̪ ≈ b̥, b͡p = b̥ (Gaelic, Hŏlmer 1962:16); in fast speech b ≈ p; b̥ = bʌ, b̥ = b˒, b̆ = p̆, b^{h} = b̤, b̥^{h} ≈ b̤ (whispered b), b^{h} (Welsh, Zulu)

ɓ Implosive b (Bantu, Sindhi, Vietnamese, Xhosa), = ɓ̞$^{-h}$, ≈ ʔb (Fula), ɓ (velar) (Igbo)

ʙ Voiced, trilled bilabial. Bilabial trill said to be like the imitation of horses.

b' Ejective b. (Not on IPA chart, as such, though ['] can be used for any ejective.) p̞$^{-h}$'

d ḍh ≈ t (Swiss), ḍ = ɾ, dʌ = ḍ, ḍ = t̪$^{-h}$, ḍ ≈ t̪ ≈ d̪̊, d ≈ t̪ (Arabic), ḍ ≈ t̪, ḍ (Köln, Swiss), ḍ = ḍ, d > ḍ (AP *wi<u>d</u>th*), ḍ (Chinese), d̆ (Farsi), d̆ ≈ t̆. On an analogy b : ʙ :: d : ḍ, and ḍ on the chart is a trilled r. We can create an approximant ḍ (e.g. in Riesenbeck German dialect)

ɗ Implosive d = implosive [t̪$^{-h}$]; [t̪$^{-h}$] (not on the chart) (Gullah, Hausa, Hindi)

ᶑ t̪$^{-h}$, ḍ (Buckinghamshire, Gaelic, Hindi, Oxford, Sanskrit, Swedish)

dʒ (AP *judge*), d͡ʒ ≠ dʒ ≠ ᶑʒ

d͡ʃ ≠ dʃ, ≠ ᶑʃ

f ɣ̥^{h}, f̣ (Russian), f̠ (Bantu)

f' = ɣ̥' Ejective f. (M:235, Kambardian)

ɸ = β̞, p̪, ɸ (hissed, Japanese), (AP camp<u>f</u>ire)

ɸ' Ejective ɸ. (M:235, Yuchi), = β̞'

β ≈ ʊ, = ɸ̬, ḇ (Bavarian, Frankfurt), (AP *obvious)*, w͡v (Grandgent 1892:10), b', ≈ w (Anglo-Irish)

g ɡ̊ʰ = k̬-ʰ (Swiss), ≈ ŋg, ≈ ŋᵍh (Chinese), g' ≈ [g] ≈ [ˠ], = ɟ̬, ɢ̬ (Swedish), g' (in double consonants g'.g), ɢ̬ (Russian)

g' k̬-ʰ'. Ejective g. (M:217, !Xū)

ɠ Implosive q, ƙ̬-ʰ

ɢ = q̬

ɢ̓ Implosive q̬ʰ. This latter symbol does not appear on the 1996 IPA chart.

h ph ≈ pʰ, hʰ (strong asp.), h = [ʰ], (aspiration, and consonant lengthener), d.h ≈ ḍh (Hindi), h = ḥ̊ (If unvoiced, as in Japanese, vowels become h, creating a different h for each vowel.), ẖ (Japanese), ḥ (Turkish), h̃ (Burmese).

ħ = ʕ̊, eħ ≈ ejĕ (Farsi), ħ = a more fricative h (Arabic), ≈ χ

ʜ ʢ̊

ɦ ḫ, (AP *ahead)*, ɦ ≠ ḫ

ʔ This can represent any vowel quality. In RP dial. ʔ ≈ ă, ĭ, ă, ŏ, ≈ (initial plosive), ≈ ä, ʌ. Sound varies with following vowel: ʔ͡V, ʔ' (Burmese), ʔ-ʰ, V' ≈ ʔ, C' ≈ ʔ (Chinese), ʔb (Fula), ʔ ≈ V (velar), (see Danish *stød*), ≈ syllabic break [.] (compare Hausa)

ʕ [ˤ] = (pharyngealised), = ɦˤ = ɋʔ, = ɻ, = ḫ; ≈ ɑ, ɑ̬; ʔ, ʔˤ (M:215), (Controversial: see Laufer and Condax 1981: 50 ff.)

ʡ Epiglottal plosive.

ʢ Voiced epiglottal fricative, ʁ̬, ɑ͡ʢ (Doke 1926, Zulu)

c ḳ, ʄ̊, = t͡ɕ, t͡ʃ̬, ɕ̬, ≈ tɕ (PIPA 1984: 41), ≈ t̬

c' Ejective ≈ ɕ̬, = ʄ̊'

ʃ An ambiguous symbol on the 1996 chart as it looks like implosive f or j or ɟ. Again, it would be better to just use the symbol ['] plus the implosive sign, e.g. [f', j', ɟ'] respectively.

ɟ ɕ, plosive i̬, ≈ d̬j in sound quality, ≈ d̬ɕ (affric.), ʮ, ≈ j̬ (tense) (Columbian Spanish), ḍ (in AP *educate*)

dʃ ≠ dʃ ≠ d͡ʃ

k $k_{\cdot}^{h}$, k^{-h} = ɡ̊ʰ, ḳ ≈ q̬, $k_{\cdot}^{-h}$ ≈ ɡ̊, k^{-h} ≈ ǩ, k ≈ k^{h}, k^{-h} = k', = ɕ, = q (+ front vowel), ǩ (Japanese), k^{x} (Cockney), k͡χ (Dutch, Swiss)

k' Ejective k, ≈ ǩ-ʰ, k^{w} = ḳ = k͡w

ƙ Implosive k (Hausa) = ɠ̊

l ḷ ≠ l, l ≈ ɾ (Icelandic); Vl ≈ Vo ≈ Vw (e.g. British dialect *all* [ow]); final ɾ ≈ l; al > au, aw (Swiss); ḷ (AP *clean*, French, Icelandic), approximant ɻ̬ ≈ ɔ (Indonesian), ḷ' (Thai), ɻ̬ (AP *health*, Spanish); l ≈ ɾ̊, ɾ, ɾ̬

ɭ l͡r, (English Midlands *girls*, Marathi, Norwegian, Swedish)

ʟ = ɬ (velar), (the phonetics of Irish Gaelic also uses the symbol ʟ in a special way), lateral approximant

ʎ ≈ l͡j, lʲ (Russian), ≈ lj (Italian, Spanish), ʎ̝ (Ladefoged 1968: 29, Burmese)

ɬ = lᵞ, lᶴ, (ɬ is ambiguous because [~] is described on the IPA chart as velar or pharyngeal); ≈ ɑ, ɒ; ɔl > ɒ, (= vel. or pharyngeal, e.g. in German Rhine dialect *Kamisol)*, ɬ non-alveolar pharyngeal (Dutch)

ɬ ɮ̊ ≈ t͡l̥, ≈ h͡l̥, (Irish, Suto, Xhosa, Welsh, Zulu), ɮ̊ (Icelandic), ɮ̤: (M:234, Greenland), ≈ ʃ (Welsh)

ɮ = ɮ̥, h͡l̥, (Irish, Xhosa, Zulu)

m range m to n (CCD:1987), m̥ (Bengali), m̩ (Cantonese, Swahili), m̀ (Turkish), m̩ (Bantu)

mŋ = m̩̃ (Duckworth et al. 1990:276), mŋ̩ (Bantu), (AP *nympf)*

n ǹ ≈ n̥ (Burmese), n ≈ ñ, n̩ = n+ (Payne 1990), (see [˜]), ǹ (Japanese), n̩ (Bantu), n̥͡h (Icelandic), nˤ (pharyngeal, Dutch), ṇ (Swahili, Tswana)

ɴ ɴɢ > ĩ (Japanese), = ŋ̩, nasal release (e.g. pᴺ), ɴ is an IPA uvular nasal, e.g. in Bantu, or in English slang "brok(e)n" [bɹo.kᴺ].

ɳ retroflex n, ɳ̩, n͡r̂ (/ɾ/ varies), (Marathi, Eastern Norway, Punjabi, Scottish)

ɲ n͡j̊ (Xhosa), ≈ nj, ≈ nʲ (Russian), ɲ̊ (Burmese), (French, Italian, Polish, Spanish)

ŋ ŋ̊ (Icelandic), ŋ̀ (Japanese), ŋ̩, (Bavarian, Cantonese, Southern Sotho, Thai), n͡g̊, g̃, ŋ (pal. and velar in Irish), range ŋ to n, ŋŋ (German dialect, Kiel)

p ≈ b̀, p ≈ pʰ (Ladefoged 1975: 44), = p̥ʰ, pˈʰ = p (whispered), pˈʰ = p̀, p̀ = b̀, p̆ = b̆

p' Ejective p, = p̥ʰ'

ɓ Implosive p, = ɓ̥, (Igbo)

q q̀ ≈ k̀, q ≈ k (+back vowel), q̠ ≈ k̠, = ɢ̥, q̠ (phg., Arabic), qˈʰ (Portuguese)

q' Ejective q, = ɢ̥' (see M:217)

ɠ Implosive q, ɠ̊

r ≈ trilled d, ɾ̥ ≠ ɾ̥, rˈᵗʳ ≈ l (Spanish), i͡r (Puerto Rico), ≈ ð, ≈ ɾː, rˈᵗʳ = üː, r ≈ a vowel (e.g. ɑː, øː), ɾ̥ (forceful) > ʃ (Swedish), rʲ and ɾ̥ (Russian), r > χ (Swiss), ɾ̥ʰˈᵗʳ (Icelandic), strong trill: Arabic, Scottish, r͡ɯ̂ (velar r, Irish)

ɾ ≠ ɾ̥, d (both have one tap) (Irish), (tap) r, d̥, tˈʰ, ɾ̆/ɾ̀ and ɾ͡l̂ (Japanese), ɾ̥ (RP), ɾ ≈ d

ɺ (voiced alveolar lateral flap), d͡ɭ, (Japanese, Tswana)

ɽ (Czech., Grassington dialect of English; Hausa, Hindi, Japanese, Oslo, Swahili, Swedish), ≠ ɽ̥, ɾ̥

ɹ ɹ̥ ≠ ɹ̥, jʲ ≈ jɛɹ ≈ jɹ, hʲ ≈ hɛɹ, ˠ = ɹ̀, ɣ̀, ɣ, a͡ɣ̂ (Danish), ɹ̀/ɹ̥ = ɑˠ, ɑ, ɹ̥ (Irish), ɹ̥ (AP), ɪ̆ (Japanese), ɹ͡l̂ (Ibo, Korean, Zulu), ɹ (Scottish)

ʁ (French, German, *-er* > ʁ), ʁ͡ɪ̯ ≈ ɣ, ɯ̟, ɑ, œ̟, ɐ; ɣ > ʁ (Arabic), = χ̬, = ɡ̬ = j̬ʌ, = ʌ ≈ ɪ˗, = j͡ɪ, ≈ ɣ̟ (Arabic, Swabian), ʁ͡x and ʁ̟ (Alsace), ʁ > ˁ (Swabian), ʁ˗ (German Rhine dialect), ʁ̟ (Danish), (Northumbrian *burr* = ʁ ≈ w)

ɻ (Bengali, Bristol dialect of English, Dutch, Swedish), ≈ l (Chinese, Finnish), ɻ˗ (Chinese), ɻ̟

ʀ ≈ χ, ʀ̟ = ʁ, ≈ ɣ, ʀ̟ (Léon 1983: 9), (Cologne [ʀ])

[V˞] Generic rhotic quality added to any vowel. Advisable instead to substitute a specific /r/.

r-ᵗʳ (the symbol [-ᵗʳ] is added here to IPA), (Irish), r to r-ᵗʳ (Malay)

s s = z̬, ≈ s͡z (Cologne), s ≈ z (German dialects), s̬ (Arran Garlic), s (vel.: Arabic, Irish), s (whistled: Efik, Shona), s̪ (Amharic, M:229), s̻ (Cambodian, Japanese), sˢ (Russian), s-ˢ and s (Swiss)

s' Ejective s (M:235). Appears on the 1996 IPA chart.

ʃ = s̺, s̻ (Fr.), (grooved vs. slit), ʃˢ (*Duden* 1974:13), s͡ʃ (Gullah, Turner 1973:246)

ʂ = r͡s̻, = ʐ̩, = r͡ʃ̻˗, ≈ /r/, sz̩ ≈ ʂɯ, s̺ (whistled, Swedish), ≈ s̻ (Swedish), ʂ (a hiss, Spanish, Dalbor 1969:92)

ɧ (Controversial). Defined as ʃ plus x; for example: ʃ͡x (Swedish, Zulu). ɦ ≠ ɧ.

ç (German, Norwegian), = j̊, sj, i̯ ≈ ç, x̟, (AP *hue*), j (strongly whispered), ɕ (Swedish), ɕ̟

ʝ ɕ, ʝ ≠ ɟ

ɕ (Chinese, Dutch, Köln), ʑ, ç̩, t͡ʃ, ≈ t̻ʃ (Japanese), ɕ͡ʃ, ʃ (pal., Polish), s͡j (*Duden* 1974:11), ʂ͡ɕ (Ladefoged and Wu 1984:271)

t t = tʰ (Swiss), t˗ = d˗, t̆ = d̆, tʰ ≈ d̥, tʰ = ɾ, t̪ = t (Payne 1990), tʰ = t˗, t ≈ d̥ᵗ, approximant t = t̻, t̠ (Arabic), t̪ (Irish, Liverpool), ṫˢ (Cockney, Liverpool), t̪ (Irish)

tʃ t͡ʃ ≈ c, ≈ ç, ≈ t̪, ≈ tˢ, tʃ (palatal, Irish), t͡ʃ ≠ tʃ (Controversial)

t' Ejective t

ƭ Implosive t, = d̥, (Igbo), ≈ a click

ɭ (Buckinghamshire, Hindi, Norwegian) ≈ r͡t, ≈ ɻt, ≈ /r/t, ʈʰ = d̥, = r-ᵗʳt, ɻ͡t, (AP *try*)

ɭ' Ejective ɭ

θ = θ̬, groove and slit articulations, θ ≠ ɵ ≠ ∅ ≠ ɸ

ð ≈ d̪, ≈ l (Danish), ≈ θ̬, θ̠, d̠, d̥

ʋ ʋ̬ = ʏ̆ (Bavarian, Icelandic), ʋ̬ = f, f̬, f̬ʰ, ʋ̂w̃, ʏ̬, ɣ̬

ʊ [Bavarian, Dutch (see Mees and Collins 1982:6), Finnish, Hindi, Irish, Zulu], ≈ β̞, w̬, ʋ̂w̃, ʏ̬, endolabial ʊ (Kahananui and Anthony 1974: xvii, see Catford 1977:144–145)

ʍ hw̬, h̬, hw̬, ʜ͡w̬, x͡w̬, h͡ɸ, hɸʷ, ɸ͡w̬

w — w˺≈ ŭ, w͡V, u͡V, Vw ≈ Vu, uɔ (AP *water* uɔtɹ) (e.g. au ≈ aw), u̯a̯, uɒ, ʊ, ow ≈ ou, w̥ ≠ ẉ, w̥ (Japanese), w̥ (RP, Icelandic), w̃ (Breton, M:246), velar versus palatal w, onglide or offglide, ẉ, [ʷ] = (labialised), [ʷ] = [̫], w > β (Bavarian, Irish), o̯a̯, u̯i̯ ≈ wi, u.ɛ = uwɛ

ɥ — (French, Spanish) (voiced labial-palatal approximant), ≈ w, *consonantal ü* (*Duden* 1974:11), ɥ̥, wi

x — x̊, xua ≈ hwa, ç > x (German), χ̬, ɣ̥, ɔh

ɣ — uvular and velar in Arabic, ʏ̥ (German dialect), ɣ̥, consonant ɣ≠ vowel ɤ; ≈ g˺, ğ, [ˠ] = (velarised), ɤ (with friction), x̯, ʁ

ɯɥ — ɣ̟ (non-fricative), ɯɥ ≈ ɯ, (Burma)

χ — = ʁ̊, ḥ, k͡χ (Swiss), x̯, strong χ (Dutch), χː (!Xũ)

j — [ʲ] (palatalisation), ≈ j̯ø, ʔi, j̯V, i̯V, V i̯ ≈ V j̯, ejɛ ≈ eɛ, ija ≈ iːa (Hausa), i͡o, j ≈ i

z — ž ≈ š, z̥ ≈ s^{-h} (Bavarian), z̥ = š (Swiss), ʂ (Payne 1990), zʸ ≈ z͡ɯ (Chinese), ẓ (Arabic), z̭ (Alsace German), z whistled (Bantu), z̥ (whistled, Doke 1954:33)

ʒ — = z̥, = ʃ̥, (strong) ç (Swedish), ʒ̭ (Fr.), ʒ̊ (Bavarian)

z̭ — [Buckinghamshire, Castilian Spanish (Dalbor 1969)] = ʂ̭, ʒ̭, r̂ʂ (Mandarin)

ʑ — (Ewe, Frankfurt German, Fula, Japanese, Norwegian, Polish), ɕ, ʑ̥ (Canepari 1983)

6. THE PHONETICS OF PIDGIN AND CREOLE

I gat koltcha [ai.gat.kol.tʃa] 'I got culture' (Jamaican dialect)

The following is a phonetic description of the basic sounds of each language rendered by IPA symbolism as described earlier. It does not, however, include a description of intonation or the full holistic aspects of phonetics description. Krio orthography uses a number of phonetic symbols, for example: 'boycott' bɔykɔt, 'branch' branchʌ, 'gaget' gajɛt (see Fyle and Jones 1980), but they are not always phonetic. The schwa and schwa-like symbols are not used by IPA-S for reasons given earlier. The following may be compared in this regard to show that, as elsewhere in phonetics, the schwa cannot be trusted to render the actual sound.

TABLE 2

Trinidad with schwa	IPA-S no schwa
əv	ʌv
ə	æ
əɛ̃	eː
kɜːli	kul.j

jə	jʌ
əm	ɛːm
əː	ea
aːə	æ
hɑə	hæ
əno	ɛn.ɔ
jə	jʌ̆

wɛkm	wɔkɪn
kɛa	kea
wɜk	wok
fɑiə	fai.a
wantə	wɑnda
fə	fʌ

Jamaican is characterised by offglides such as [o^{a}, e^{i}]. Krio /r/ is [j̆ɪ, ɹ, ɤ̆, ʁ].

6.1 TOK PISIN

The phonemes, not the phonetics, of Nigerian Pidgin are given here by Barbag-Stoll (1983). For a comparison of Nigerian Pidgin and Tok Pisin, see Faraclas (1990). The meanings of the words of Tok Pisin (literally, 'speak pidgin') indicate their phonetic borrowings. A brief sample list is given below. (Ger. = from German):

TABLE 3

Tok Pisin	English
Aprika	Africa
asawe	that's the way
bikples (lit. 'big place')	mainland
bilong yu	your
dok	dog
ensin	engine
esik	vinegar (Ger.)
go kambaut	wander about
go lukim	visit
gutbai	goodbye
gumi	rubber (Ger.)
gutaim (good time)	peace
haus kuk	kitchen (Ger.)
kek	cake
kikbal	football
kilim	hit with a weapon

kokoros	cockroach
kraide	chalk (Ger.)
lukluk	appearance
natnat	mosquito
no gut (no good)	bad (Ger. gut)
nogat (no got)	have not
opis	office
pait	fight
paul	fowl
pren	friend
sisel	chisel
suga	sugar
skulim	teach
tisa	teacher
toktok	talk
wokabaut	travel

Mühlhäusler notes the following:

> Data concerning the phonological properties of early stabilised Tok Pisin are fairly scarce and the prevailing convention of using English orthography does little to help the analyst. There is general agreement, however, that at the phonetic level, a great deal of variation was found and, by and large, accepted. (Mühlhäusler 1985:91)

Laycock (1985:298–301) states that the pronunciation of Tok Pisin is influenced by the sounds of other languages which are spoken, and states that there is no single phonology (p.305, see also Mühlhäusler 1990). For example, in Sepik and Madang Provinces and some dialects of Kuanua, /bdg/ are pronounced as [mb, nd, ŋg], respectively; g > ŋg, ng > ŋ, b > mb, d > nd; [l] is said to be sometimes palatalised as [lʸ], or is an upward flap, that is, often [l = r] (p.301). Also /s/ may be replaced by /t/ in the case of older speakers. /N/ is also said to occur, but it is described as a syllabic nasal (Wurm, Laycock and Mühläusler 1984:127), whereas [N] should mean just nasal release (See the uvular nasal release of Bantu). Laycock (1985:299) uses orthography rather than phonetics to show differences as follows:

TABLE 4

Tok Pisin	Buin and South Bougainville	English
abus	aapusi	animal
baibel	paipera	bible
bebi	peepi	baby
nogut	nokusi	bad
oda	oora	order
paradiso	pararito	paradise
redi	rere	ready
saiden	taiteni	sergeant
trabel	taraaporo	trouble

Laycock (1985:302) gives the following vowel inventory for Tok Pisin:

TABLE 5

IPA	Tok P.	English	IPA	Tok P.	English
a	pat	fat	aː	hat	hard
e	wet	wait	ɛ	let	belt
i	nil	nail	ɪ	pik	pig
o	kol	cold	ɒ	dok	dog
ɔ	kot	court	ɜ	wok	work
u	susu	breast	ʊ	puspus	copulate

The IPA-S inventory given below shows that in actual speech there are other vowels as well. For an analysis of intonation, see Wurm (1985a:309–334).

6.2 IPA-S TRANSCRIPTION LEXICON

Some of the most commonly used databases of the world's languages (Maddieson (1984), Stanford (1979), and Comrie, ed. (1987)) contain little or no information about pidgin and creole languages.

The following is given by the author as a sample paradigmatic lexicon of actual phonetic sounds of pidgin and creole. It is not intended that the transcriptions presented here be regarded as the standard, but rather show how the IPA may be used to render an accurate and useful phonetic transcription. As mentioned earlier, the symbols are intended to refer primarily to sound rather than to the physical articulations made. This is called here *Realphonetik* to stress the fact that it is based on actual pronunciation heard, rather than on theoretical phonemes, stereotypic graphemes, or ideal standards of how the language should sound.

IPA-S KEY WORDS are given for the IPA-S 1995 Jamaican informant, which may be compared with the transcriptions of these same words for other dialects of English and other languages described by the author (Shibles 1994bcd, 1995ab).

TABLE 6

PIDGIN AND CREOLE

Jamaican Dialect	**IPA-S Kühnel 1991**
'appen (happen)	ʔap-h.m
'daktah (doctor)	dak.ta
'im (he)	ʔɪm
'im (him)	ɪm
aalrait (all right)	a.l.ɹait
afta (after)	a/æf.ta
ah-go (will, become)	a.go
ai-whatah (tears)	ai.wai.ta
andah (under)	a:n.da
antiks (peculiarities)	a:n.tiks
arinsh (orange) (See irinsh)	ai.ɹinʃ
auer (hour)	o:.a:
aut (out)	o:t-h
auta-orda (rude)	o.taɹ.da
baddi (buddy)	ba.di
bahl (bawl)	bal
bait (bite)	bait
bangarang (quarrel)	bɑŋg.a.ɹaŋ
bass (boss)	bʌ͡ɔs, bɔ/ös
bass (bus)	bʌs
batam (bottom)	bat.am
baut (about)	bo:t, bo͡at
bay	bi:.æ
beil (boil)	bwail
bettah	bɛt.ta
biébi (baby)	bi͡a.bi, bi.a.bi
biék (bake)	bi:.ɛk
big	big
big man	bɪg.mɑn
bigga (bigger)	bɪ.ga
bikaaz (because)	bi.ka:z
bokkl (bottle)	bak.kl
börn (burn)	bɔ/øn
bot (but)	bɔt
bradda (brother)	bɹa.da
brait (bright)	bɹait
breyds (braids)	bɹeðs
breyk (break)	bɹʊk
briék (brakes)	bɹe:ɪk
bruk (broke)	bɹɔk
buk (book)	bʊk
chail (child)	sail, tʃail
chaklit (cocoa)	tʃa:k.lit
chiep (cheap)	tʃi:p
Chjusdi (Tuesday)	tʃu:z.de
daag (dog)	da:g/ɣ
dalla (dollar)	dal.lø
dan (than)	dan
dat (that)	dat-h
datti (dirty)	dɔ.ti
def-ier (stubborn)	dɛf.i:a
deh (there)	de
dehd (dead)	dɛ:d
dey (day)	de:ɪ, ʔde:.a
di (the)	di
dis-jah (this)	dɪs.ja
doan (not, don't)	dõ:, do:n
don (ended)	dɔ:n
dón (don't)	don
dong (down)	dɔŋ
driem (dream)	dɹim
égen (again)	a.gɛ̃
eil (oil)	ail
faada (father)	fa:.da
faas (fast)	fɑ:s
faiáh (fire)	fai.ja
fait (fight)	fait
fallo (follow)	fʌ.la
fambli	fam.bɪ.li
farihn (abroad)	faɹ.ɪ:n
fashn	fasn
feyszi (fresh)	fias.ti
fi (for)	fɪ
fi (ought to)	fi'
fi-mi (mine)	fɪ.mi
figet (forget)	fɪ.gɛt

fischaman (fisherman)	fi.ʃa.man
fohr (four)	foa
fos (first)	føs
fram (from)	fɹam
fren' (friend)	fɹɛn:
fuul-fuul (dumb)	ful.ful
gaan (gone)	ga:n
gaan-whey (go away)	gɑ:n.we
gas	gjas
gitop (get up)	gɪ.tɔp
gjal (girl)	dʒal
groh (grow)	gɹo, gɹoa
gud (good)	gʊd
gwoan (continue)	gwa:n
h'eskep (escape)	ɛs.kjep
h'ignorant	ɪg.na.ɹant
h'onest	ɔn.ɛs
haard (hard)	a:(ɹ)d, a:d
haard-ier (obstinate)	aɹ.i:.ɛɹ
haffi (have to)	af.fi
hai (hello)	hai
hao (as, how)	o:
happi	hæp.pi
haus	aus, os
hav	av
hevi (heavy)	ɛv.i
hi-gout (he-goat)	i:.guat
hongri (hungry)	ɔŋ.gɹi
honk	aŋk
hörb (herb)	øɹb
hörli (early)	ø:.li
hott (hot)	at, a:t
houm (home)	o^{u}m
i-rinsh (orange) (see arinsh)	ai.ɹinʃ
iiet (eat)	ji:t
jah (here)	ja
jam (yam)	jam
jard (yard)	ja:d
jeh maan (ok)	jɛ.man:
jesaid (yesterday)	jɛs.ɪ.de
jier (year)	jɛ:ɹ
juh (you)	jã̃, jʌ
juud (youth)	ju:t
kaas' (cost)	ka:s
kallalu (vegetables)	kal.al.lo
kam (come)	kọ:m
kassawa	kas.sa.va
kau (cow)	ko
kendl (candle)	kjan.dl
ketsch (catch)	kɛtʃ
kíaan (can)	kã:
kiék (cake)	kiɛk
kjan (can)	kjã:, kjan
kjar (auto)	kjaɹ
kjarri (carry)	kja.ɹi
klevah	klɛ.va
klos (close)	klo^{a}s
kobitsch (stingy)	kɔ.bɪtʃ
kold	kọal
koltcha (culture)	kol.tʃa
körri (curry)	kọ.ɹ.ɹi
kot (cut)	kɔt
kriss (lively)	kɹɪs
kuck (cook)	kʊk
kuda (could)	ku.da
kuu (show)	ku
kwaata (1/4)	kwa:.ta
kwick	kwik
laas (last)	lɑs
lai (a lie)	lai
laiárd (liar)	lai.aɹd
lakka (like)	lak.ka
lan', land	lan
laud (loud)	lọad
lef' (miss)	lɛf
letta (letter)	lɛt.ta
lick (beat)	lik
licki-licki (coward)	lɪ.ki
liédi (lady)	le.ɪdi
liét (late)	li(:).ɛt
liézi (lazy)	li.a.zi
likkl (little)	løkl

likkle (little)	lɪkl
liriks (lyrics)	lɪɹ.ɪks
lov	lɔv, lʌv
maaming	maɹ.nɪn/ŋ
maita (might)	mai.ta
makka (thorns)	mak.ka
Mandi (Monday)	mo/ʊn.de
mash op	mɑʃ.ɔpˀ
mesha (measure)	me.dʒa
mi (me)	mi
Miéri (Mary)	mi.a.ɹi
miiet (meet)	mitʰ
milk	mɪ:lk
minit (minute)	mɪn.ut
móni (money)	mɔ.ni
mor (more)	mo̤ɹ
motsch (much)	mɔ/ʌtʃ
muosli (mostly)	moas.li
muzik	mju.zik
nah (not)	na:, nɔ
nan (no)	nʊn
nattn (nothing)	nʌ/ɔ.tn
nattn (nothing)	no̤.tn
nau (now)	nou
njam (eat)	njɑm
njuh (new)	nju
noa (know)	no
nobadda	no.ba.di
non (not)	no/un
nörs (nurse)	nøs
nuun (noon)	nu:n
ongl (only)	ɔɪŋ.gl
paas (pass)	pa:s
pain (pineapple)	pein, pa̲i̲:n
passport	pa:s.poᵃt
pickni (child)	pɪk.ni
piepl (people)	pi:.pl
pig	pi
pitetah (potato)	pi.te.ta
pliés (place)	ple̲ɪs
polies-uman (police, fem.)	po.lis.u.man
pörl (pill)	pø:l
prablim	pɹa.blɛm
prisón	pɹɪ.zn
pritti	pɹɪ.ti
put	pʊt
rais (rice)	ɹais
rait (write)	ɹait(ʰ)
red-ai (lit. red eye?; greedy)	ɹɛd.ai
repair	ɹa.pɹ
reyn (rain)	ɹean
riddim (rhythm)	ɹɪd.dim
riied (read)	ɹaiḍ
robbisch	ɹʌ.bɪʃ
rón, ron (run)	ɹoan, ɹʌ/ɔn
saal' (salt)	sa:l.t
sah (sir)	saˀ
samfai (sly)	sam.fai
Satcherdi (Saturday)	sæ.tɪ.de
seh (that)	sĕ
sekkl (settle)	sɛkl
sen' (send)	se:n
shap (shop)	ʃap(ʰ)
shauer (shower)	ʃo.a
shi (she)	ʃiʔ
shi-gout (she-goat)	ʃia.gʊat
shiém (be ashamed)	ʃiɛ(m)
shoh (show)	ʃo
shuda (should)	ʃu.da
sick	sɪk
sinting (something)	sɪn.tɪŋ
skuul	sku:l
slackniss	slɑk.nɪs
smaal	sma:l
smaart	sma:ɹt
smaddi (somebody)	sma.di
smouk (smoke)	smo^k
so-so (only)	soᵃ.so
som (some)	so̤m
somtaim (sometimes)	sʌ͡ɔm.taim
Sondi (Sunday)	sʌn.de
sörf (serve)	sɹ/øv

spiiech (speech)	spis
stey (stay)	ste:.ɪ
su-su (chatter)	sŭ.sŭ
suun (sun)	sun
swiiet-maud (flatter)	swit.mo̤d̤
szieh (see)	si(:)
sziesón	siz.ɪn
taak (talk)	ta:k^{-h}
taak-taak (too much talk)	taka.taka
tai'r (tire)	tai.ja
tain (time)	tain
tanks (thanks)	taŋks
taun (town)	to:n
ti (tea)	ti
tidey (today)	tɪ.de
tiéla (tailor)	tiɛ.la
tiicha (teacher)	ti.tʃa
tiiet (teeth)	ti:t
ting (thing)	tɪŋ
trabbl	tɹʌbl
trie (tree)	tɹi:
tu (to)	t^{-h}u
tumarroh (tomorrow)	tu.ma.ɹo tu.ma:ɪ.ɹă
turis (tourist)	tu.ɹɪs
twang (accent)	twɑŋ
uman (woman)	u.man
unu (you) pl.	uno
vex	vɛks
waak (walk)	wɑ:k
waan go (want to go)	wa:ŋ.go
wann (want)	wɑ̃:
wha/á (what)	wɛ, wa:ʔ
whatah (water)	wɑ(:).ta(:)
whé (where)	wĕ/e, ʍe
which	ʍɪtʃ
wi (we)	wi
wi' (will)	wi
wid (with)	wɪd
woan (a)	wo͡a:n, wɔn, woan, wa͡ʌn
wosch (wash)	waʃ
wrong	ɹaŋ
wuda (would)	wu/ʊ.da
Jamaican Creole	**IPA-S Görlach 1986**
'tretch (stretch)	tɹɛtʃ
aaf (off)	ɑf
all	ɑl
ave (have)	æv
away	a.wĭ
baak (bark)	bɑ:k
bad	bad
bot (but)	bɔ/o̤t
brown	bɹown
bus (burst)	bʌs
bwail (boil)	bwail
bway (boys)	bwa͡i
chimbly (chimney)	tʃɪm.bli
coat	ko^{a}t
coke-nat (coconut)	kok.nat
com (come)	kɔm
craas (cross)	kɹæs
dem	dɛm
diffrant	dɪf'.fɹænt
dis (this)	dɪs
do	do
domb (dumb)	do̤mb
fi (for)	fĭ
fies (face)	fe^{ɪ}s
fiesty	festi
flatta (flutter)	flæ.tʌ
friggissee (fricassee)	fɹɪg.ɪsi:
fry	fɹi
gi (give)	gɪ
gon (gun)	go̤n
grong (ground)	gɹɔŋ
guol (gold)	go^{a}l
gwine (going)	gwain
hegg (egg)	hɛg
ignarance	ɪg.na.ɹæns
insis (insist)	ɪn.sɪs
jine (join)	dʒa͡in
know	kno:

kot (cut)	kɔt
kuol (cold)	kuᵒl
kyan (can)	kjɑ̃ː, kjɑn
laas (last)	lɑːs
lickle (little)	lɪkl
lissen	lis.n
mek (make)	mɛk
mine (mind)	miːn
neva (never)	nɛva
nex	nɛks
niekid (naked)	nie̯kɪd
niem (name)	neᴵm
nomba (number)	no̤mba
notten (nothing)	nʌ.ɪn
now	nŏw
op (up)	ɔp
ouse (house)	aus
pan (upon)	pan
pickcha	pɪktʃɑ
pickney	pɪknĭ
piepa (paper)	pieᵉpɑ
plom	plɔm
puor (poor)	puᵒɹ
ribba (river)	ɹɪba
saafa (suffer)	saːfa
secan (second)	sɛ.kæ/ɑn
shake	ʃe͡ik
shob (shove)	ʃob
siddong (sit down)	sɪdˈ.dɔŋ
sief (safe)	seᴵf
sipple (slippery)	sɪpl
som	sʌm
strent (strength)	stɹɛnt
tap (top)	tɑp
teacha (teacher)	titʃa
tek (take)	tɛk
temparated (angry)	tɛm.pa ɹetɛd
ting (thing)	tɪŋ
tree (three)	tɹiː
tuos (toast)	toːs
waam	wɑm
wan (one)	wɑn
was (waste)	weːs
water	wɔta
ways	weᴵz
weh (way)	wĕ
wha (what)	ʍa
wid (wild)	wɪd
woss (worse)	wɔs, wʌs
ya (here)	jɑ
yaad (yard)	jɑːd
yout (youth)	jut

Jamaica Dialect 1995 Age 20 Key Words	**IPA-S Informant k ≈ ejective k'**
apple(s)	ɑpˈʰ.l
April	e.pɹɛl
banana(s)	bɑ.nɑ.nɑ
bean(s)	biːn
beefsteak	bif.ste̯ɑk
beer	biːɹ
black	blɑkʰ
blue	blu
bread	bɹɛd
breakfast	bɹɛk.fɑs
brown	bɹɑun
butter	bʌtˈ.tɑ
cabbage	kæ.bɪdʒ
cake	keɪk
candy	kæn.di
car	kɑɹ
cheese	tʃiːz
cherry(ies)	tʃɛɹiz
chicken	tʃɪkɛn
chocolate	tʃɔk.lɪt
cocktail(s)	kɔk.teɪl
coffee	kɔf.fi
cream	kɹiːm
cup	kɔ͡ʌp
egg(s)	ɛgz
eight	eːɪt
English	ɪŋg.lɪʃ
evening	iv.nɪn
father	fɑːdɑ
February	fɛb.ɹu.ɛɹi

fish	fɪʃ	rice	ɹais
five	faiv	salt	sɑlt
fork	fo̩ɹk	Saturday	sæt.(ɪ).de
four	fo̩:ɹ	second	sɛ.kɔn
Friday	fɹa.de	seven	sɛvn
good	gʊd	shrimp(s)	ʃɹɪmp
goodbye	gʊd.bai	six	sɪks
grape(s)	gɹeps	spoon	spu:n
gray, grey	gɹe:^{a}	spring	spɹɪŋ
green	gɹi:n	sugar	ʃʊ.gɑ:
herring	ɛɹin	summer	sʌm.mɑ
hour	ɑ.wɑ	Sunday	sʌn.de
January	dʒæn.u.ɛɹi	tea	ti
knife	naif	thank you	tæŋk.ju
lamb	lɑ:m	thirteen	tɹ.ti:n
lemon(s)	lɛ̩.mʌn	three	tɹi:
lettuce	lɛ.tɪs	Thursday	tɹz.de
lobster	lɑb.stɑ	today	tu.dě
lunch	lʌ͡ʊtʃ	tomorrow	tu.mɑ.ɹo
meat	mi:t	Tuesday	tuz.de
milk	mɪlk	two	tu
'minute	mɪn.ɪt	vegetable(s)	vɛdʒɪ.tɑbl
Monday	mɔn.de	vinegar	vɪn.ɛgɑ
month	mɔn.t^{h}	water	wɔ:.tɑ
morning	mɔɹ.nɪn	Wednesday	wɛnz.de
mother	mʌ.dɑ	week	wi:k
night	nɑit	where	wi.ɹ
no	nŏ^{a}	white	wait
one	wʌ:n	winter	wɪn.tɑ
orange(s)	o̩ɹ.æn.dʒɪz	yellow	jɛl.lo
oyster(s)	ɔis.tɛz	yes	jɛs
peach(es)	pitʃ	yesterday	jɛs.tɪ.de
pear(s)	pɛɹ	**Krio orthography**	**IPA-S Görlach 1986**
pepper	pɛ.pɹ	apful	æpfʊl
plate	plɛ̩ɪt	bisin	bɪsɪn
please	plis	bɔt	bɔt^{-h}
plum(s)	plʌmz	chɔch	tʃo̩tʃ
pork	po̩ɹk	dɛbul	dɛbl
potato(es)	pɑ.te.tɑz	dɛm	dɛm
purple	pɹ.pl	dɛn	dɛn
rain	ɹe:n	densef	dɛnsɛf
red	ɹɛd	dis	dɪs

dizaya	di.zɑ.ja
dɔn	dɔ̃
dɔng	dɔŋ
drim	dɾɪm
ed	ɛd
fɛda	fɛ.dɑ:
fɔ	fɔ̃
fɔm	fo̩m
fɔs	fœs
gɛt	gɛtˢ
insay	ɪn.sai
jɛs	dʒʌs
kin (can)	kɪn
kɔmɔt	ko̩mo̩t
kray	kɹ̆'ai
laf	læf
langa	læŋgɑ
lebɔ	lebo
luk (look)	lʊk
mɔnin	mɔnɪn
ɔjɛnt	ɔ.dʒɛnt
pikin (children)	pikɪn
pɔsin	pɔsɪn
prawd	pj͡ɹaud
prifes (preface)	pɹifɪs
prɔpa	pɹ̆ɔpɑ
raskɛl	ɹ/ɹ'æs.kɛl
raytin	j͡ɹaj̲.tsɪn
rid (read)	j͡ɹɪd
rizɔlt	j͡ɹizʌlt
rul	j͡ɹul
saful	sæful
sɛf	sɛf
sɔfa	so̩fa
sɔspɛkt	sɔspɛktˢ
swit	swit
tay	tˢai
tek	teʌk
tin (times)	tɪ:n, t̆i
tink	θɪŋk, tˢɪŋk
to	tso
tɔd	tˢɔd
tri	tˢɹ̆'i
trik	tʃ͡ɹɪk

Cameroon Pidgin	**IPA-S Görlach 1986**
banana	bæ.na.na
but 'boat'	bʊt
chia	tʃe.a
dis	dɪs
dɔng	dɔŋ
fashɔn	fæ.ʃɔn
fɔ	fo
fɔa	foª
gɔn	gʌn
kɔni	kɔªni
laik	laik
lam	læm
lɛn	lɛ:n
muf	muf
nɔmba	nɔm.bɑ
rait	ɹaj̲t
san	sæn
sɔm	sʌm
tali	tæ.li
tich	titʃ
ting	tɪŋ
tink	tɪŋk
tot	tot
wuna	wʌna

Tok Pisin Schaefer 1992	**IPA-S (German source, note v/w)**
ai (eye)	ai
aiskrim (ice cream)	ais.krem
aitíngk (perhaps, lit. I think)	ai.tɪŋk
ánien (onion)	han.jɛn
apinún (good afternoon)	æpi.nu:n
arasait	ara.sait
ásade (yesterday)	as.a.de
aúa (hour)	a.wa
Augus (Aug.)	au.gʊs
báim	bai:
bálus (plane)	ba.lus

banána	ba.næ.na
báta (butter)	ba.ta
behaín (later)	bi.hain
bélo (bell)	bɛl.o
bik (big)	bik
biknait (midnight)	bik.nait
bíkpela	bik.p^{-h}ɛla
biksan (noon) (lit. big sun)	biks.a:n
bílas (clothes)	bi.las
bilóng (belong)	bi.lɔŋ(g)
bin (bean)	bin
bin (been)	bi:n
bipó (before)	bi:.fo:
bráta (brother)	bra:.da
bruk (broken)	brʊk
buk (book)	bʊk
daun (down)	daun
día (costly)	di:.a
Disémba	di.sɛm.ba
díwai (tree)	di.vai
dok (dog)	dɔk
dókta (doctor)	dɔk.ta
dráiva (driver)	drai.va
dring (drink)	driŋ
em (he)	e/ɛm
énsin (engine)	ɛn.zɪn
Epril (April)	ei.prɪl
et (#8)	e/ɛt
faiv (#5)	faif
Februére	fɛb.ru.ɛri
fiíim (feel)	fil.ɪm
foa (#4)	fo.a
Fónde (Thu.)	fɔn.de
Fraíde (Fri.)	frai.de
gen (again)	gen
gívim (give)	gɪv.im
go	go, go$^{?}$
gude (good day)	gʊd.de:
gut (good)	gʊ:t^{-h}
hamás (how much)	ha.mas
handet (100)	han.dɛt
hánggre (hungry)	haŋ.gre
hánwas (watch)	han.vas
hap (half)	hæp^{-h}
hárim (listen)	ha:.rim
hátwok (hard work)	hat.wɔk
hausat (why)	haus.at
héve (heavy)	hɛ:.vi
hía (here)	hi.a(:)
husát (who)	hu.sat
ia (ear)	i:.a
iet (yet)	jɛt
ináf (enough)	in.af
insait	ɪn.sai
ísi (easy)	i:.zi
Januáre	dʒan.wa.ri
Julaí (July)	dʒu.lai
Jun (June)	dʒun
kaáim (carry)	ka.rim
kábis (cabbage)	ka.bidʒ, kæ:.bɪdʒ
kágo (cargo)	ka.go
kaikai (to eat)	kai.kai
kakáo	ka.kau
kákaruk (hen)	ka.ka.ruk
kam (come)	kam
kamáp (rise)	kam.ap
kápsaitim (capsize)	kap^{-h}.sait.im
kasáng (peanut)	ka.saŋ
kástam (custom)	kas.tam
kaukau (sweet potato)	kau.kau
kek (cake)	kẹik
kílim (kill)	ki.lim
klok (clock)	klɔk
klóstu (near)	klɔ/os.tu
kókonas	ko.ko.nas
kon (wheat)	ko:n
kópi (coffee)	kɔ.p^{-h}i
kot (court)	ko^{a}t
kot ren (raincoat)	kɔt.r:ɛn
krai (cry)	krai
kraim (bark)	kra.im
kukim (cook)	kʊk.im
kukúmba	ko.kum.ba

laik	laik
lain (family)	lain
lait (light)	lait
laplap (towel)	læp.læp
liklik (small)	lɪk.lɪk
longtaim	lɔŋ.tam
lóngwe (far)	lɔ(:)ŋ.we
lúkim (see)	lʊk.im
lúkim yu (goodbye)	lʊk.im.ju
lúsim (leave)	lu.sim
máma	ma.ma
man	mæ/an
Mánde (Mon.)	man.de
mángki (youth)	maŋ.ki
mángo	maŋ.go
máni (money)	ma:.ni
márasin (medicine)	mara.sɪn
márit (marriage)	mar.it
Mas (March)	mas
masalaí (spirit)	ma.sa.lai
másta kot (Mr lawyer)	mas.ta.kɔt
maúnten (mt.)	maun.tɛn
maúsgras (beard)	maus.græs
Me (May)	me:
mékim (do)	me.kim
mélen	mɛl.ɛn
meri (woman)	mɛ:.ri
mi (I)	mi
minit (minute)	mɪn.ɪt
mísis (Mrs.)	mɪs.ɪz
móa (more)	mo.a
móning (morning)	mɔ/o̤.nɪŋ
móta (motor)	mo.ta
mumu (oven)	mu.mu
mun (month)	mun
na (and)	na
nain (#9)	nain
nais (rice)	nais
nait (night)	nait
namba (#)	nam.ba
nat (nut)	nʌt
ngos (louse)	ŋgɔs

Niugíni (New Guinea)	n(u).gi.ni
noken (can't)	no.kɛn
Novémba	no.vɛm.ba
Októba	ɔk.to.ba
ol (old)	o/ɔ/o̤l
olgéta (total)	ol.gɛ.da
olsem (same)	o:l.sɛm
opis (office)	o̤.pɪs
orait (all right)	o.rait
páinim (find)	p-^{h}ai.nim
pait (fight)	pait
pámpken (pumpkin)	pam.kɪn
pápa	p-^{h}a.p-^{h}a
Pápua	pap.wa
pas (letter)	p-^{h}as
pástaim (begin)	pas.taim
páto (duck)	p-^{h}a.to
peim (pay)	p-^{h}a.im
pen (pain)	pen
pik (pig)	p-^{h}ɪk
pikiníni (child)	pi.ki.ni.ni
piksa (picture)	pik.sa
pínis (finish)	fɪ.nɪs, fi:.nɪs
pis (fish)	p-^{h}ɪs
Písin (pidgin)	pi:.dʒin, pɪtʃ.ɪn
plank (shield)	plaŋk
plánti (much)	plan.ti
ples (place)	bles
plis (please)	plis
pópo (papaya)	po.po
Port Moresby	p-^{h}ɔrt mo̤r.ɛs.bi
potéto	p-^{h}o.te.to
pren (friend)	prɛn
présen (gift)	prsɛn
pukpuk (crocodile)	p-^{h}ʊk.p-^{h}ʊk
pulpul (grass skirt)	pʊl.pʊl
pundaun (to land)	p-^{h}ʊn.daun
rais (rice)	rais
rait (write)	rait
raus (Ger.)	raus
ren (rain)	ren
ríva (river)	ri/ɪ.va

rot (road)	rot
rum (room)	rum
sámpela (some, many)	sam.pala, sæm.p^{-h}ɛla
samtaim	sam.taim
sámting náting (nothing, not)	sam.tɪŋ. na.tɪŋ
Sánde (Sun.)	san.de
sapós (if)	sa.p^{-h}os
Sárede (Sat.)	sar.de
sáve (know)	sa.ve, sæ.va, sa:.ve
sékhan (lit. shake hands; peace)	sek.han
sel (tent) (Ger. *Zelt*)	sɛ:l
Setémba	sɛ.tɛm.ba
seven (#7)	sɛv.ɛn
sikis (#6)	sɪ.kɪs
sindáun (sit down)	sɪn.daun
singsing (songfest)	sɪŋ.sɪŋ
sis (cheese)	sis
sísa (sister)	si.sa
siút (shot)	ʃut
siútim (shoot)	ʃu.tɪm
skin	skm
skúlrum	skul.rum
slek (flat)	slek
slip (sleep)	slɪ:p
smólpela (small)	smol.p^{-h}ɛ.la
snek (snake)	snek
sóim (show)	ʃo.im
sol (salt)	sol
sóri (sorry)	sọ.ri
sótpela (short)	ʃɔt.p^{-h}ɛla
spia (spear)	spi:.a:
stap (stop)	stap^{-h}
stilman (thief)	stil.man
stóri	stɔ.ri
strong	strɔŋ
súa (sore)	su.a
súga (sugar)	su.ga
supsup (spear)	sʊp.sʊp
susu (milk)	su.su
switmúli (orange)	swit.mu:.li
táia (tire)	ta.ja
taim (time)	taim
tambu (tabu)	tæm.bu
tapióka	tap.jo.ka
táro (taro)	ta.ro
tasol (only)	ta.sɔ/ọl:
taúnam (net)	tau.nam
tausen (1000)	tau.zɛn
tébol (table)	te.bɔ:l
télipon (telephone)	tɛl.i.fon
ten (#10)	tɛn
tenkyu	tɛŋk.ju
tis (teeth)	tis
tísa (teacher)	ti.tʃa, ti.tsa
tok (say)	tɔk
tomáto	to.ma.to
trak (truck)	trak
tri (#3)	tri
Trínde (Wed.)	trin.de
tru (very)	tru
tu (#2)	tu
tudák (dark)	tu.dak
tudé (today)	tu.de(:)
tumás (very) (too much)	t^{-h}u.mas
tumbúna (ancestors)	tum.buna
tumóra (tomorrow)	tu.mọr.a
Túnde (Tue.)	tun.de
túpela (two)	tu.p^{-h}ɛ.la
túris (tourist)	tu.rɪs
wan (#1)	wăn
wánem (what)	wan.em
wánpela (one)	v/wan.p^{-h}ɛla
wántok (fellow native speaker)	wan.tɔk
wára (water)	va.ra
waswas (wash)	vas.vas
wataím (when)	ʍat.taim
we (where)	we(:)
westap (where)	wɛ/est.(h)ap
wet (wait)	wet

wik (week)	wik
win (air, wind)	wɪn
wíndo	vin.do
wok (work)	vɔk
wókabaut (walk)	wo.ka.baut
wókboi (work boy)	vɔk.bɔi
wónem (what, which)	vo.nɛm
yam	jam
yámbo (guava)	jam.bo
yángpela (young)	jaŋ.p^{-h}ɛ.la
yes	jɛs
yíar (year)	i.jar
yu (you)	ju
yumi (we)	juː.mi
yúpela (you)	ju.p^{-h}ɛ.la
Tok Pisin	**IPA-S Görlach 1986**
ausait	au^{ʔ}ˌsait^{-h}
bek (back)	bɛk
bladiful (bloody fool)	blʌdiful
brara	brɑtɑ
bret	brɛt
bris (bridge)	bris
gohet (go ahead)	gohɛt
graun (ground)	grɑ̨un
i (he)	i
kabis (cabbage)	kɑbɪs
klos	klɔs
kos (course)	kɔs
kranki (odd)	krɑŋki
lap (laugh)	lap
meri (woman)	mɛri
moa	moa
namba (number)	namba
nogat (no got)	no.gat
rabis (rubbish)	rɑbɪs
rida	rida
ritim	ridim
rong (wrong)	rɔŋ
samting (something)	sæm.tɪŋ
sanap (stand up)	san.ap
save (know)	sɑve
sket (skirt)	skɛ̨t
skul (school)	skul
slek (slack)	slɪk
tokim (tell)	tɔkɪm
trausis	trauzɪs
tret	trɛt
wan (one)	wän
wari (worry)	wari
Nigerian Pidgin (English)	**Phonemes by Barbag-Stoll 1983**
agree	gri
answer	hansa
apple	apɔ
ask	aks
beard	biabia
book	buku
bottle	bɔtɔ
build	bil
cup	kobu
devil	debu
every	efri
flag	filag
half	afu
harbour	habo
himself	imsef
ink	hink
milk	milik
mix	misk
mouth	mɔt
operation	opreʃon
picture	pitʃo
pleasure	pleʃo
pump	pompu
question	kweʃon
receipt	risiti
sit down	sidɔn
soldier	sɔdʒa
stand	tanda
story	tori
table	tabu
tender	tonda
them	dem
thunder	tonda

tire	taia
tree	tiri
trousers	trɔsis
umbrella	hombrela
village	filidʒ
wasp	waps
water	wara
weed	wiwi
witch	wintʃ
young	njongi

Melanesian Pidgin	**Phonemes by Hall 1943**
afterward	bɪhɑjn
all	ɔlə
already	fɪnɪʃ
all right	ɔrɑjt
backwoods	buʃ
before	bɪfor
continually	ɔltɑjm
dark	tudɑrk
get	kɪtʃɪm
get up	kirəp
good	gʊdfɛlə
he	ɛm
hear	i-hirɪm
I	mi
keep going	go go go
longtime	lɔŋtɑjm
now	nɑw
number	nəmbər
of	bɪlɔŋ
one	wən
police-boy	plisbɔj
post (letter)	steʃən
send	i-sɛlɪm
soon	bɑjmbɑj
speak	i-tɔkɪm
teach	lɑjnɪm
together	ɔltəgədər
trouble	trəbəl
two	tufɛlə
us	mifɛlə
we	mifɛlə

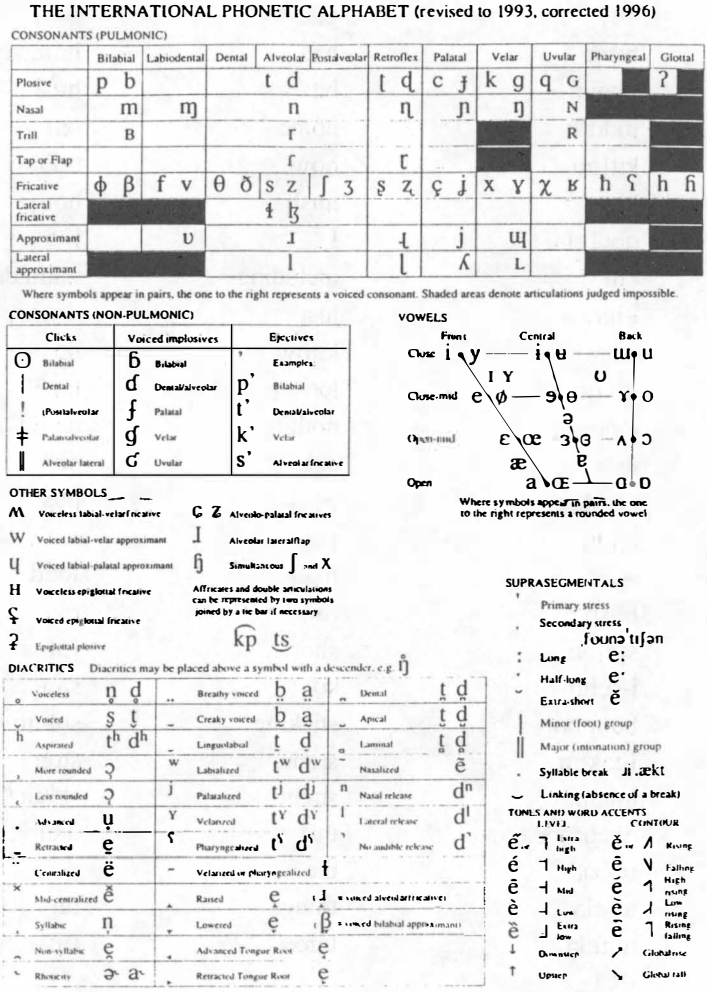
Trinidad and Tobago	**IPA-S from Winer 1993**
about	ɑ.bu
after	af.tɹ
back	bɑk
bad	bad
boy	bɒi
boyhood	bɔi.ʊːd̥
cage	keɪdʒ
came	gem
cast	kɑst
cherry	tʃɛɾi
coming	kɔm.ɪn
down	dɑŋ, doŋ
fella	fɛla
gate	geːɪt
had	had, æd
hit	hɪʔ
home	om
how	hɑ͡ɔ
hush	hoaʃ
I	i
including	ɪnklu.dɪn
just	dʒʌs
know	nð
lot	lɔtʰ
nothing	na.tin
out	otʰ
pass	pɑs
put	pʌtˀ
road	ɹoad
run	rɔn
short	ʃɔtˀ
so	sau
sticking	stɪk.ɪn
stone	stʊn
street	stʰɹɪtʰ
that	dætʰ, ðæ
the	di
things	tɪŋ
three	tɹiː

throw	ɯo	wine	waiŋ
to	tɛ	work	wŏk
together	tu.gɛd.a	working	wɔ/økɪn
we had	jæd	you	jʌ, jǎ
when	wɛn		

7. SUMMARY

In summary, the International Phonetic Alphabet was extensively described and shown to provide a solid basis for phonetic transcription. The controversy of phonemics versus phonetics showed that it is no longer acceptable for linguists to continue to ignore the critical literature or become captivated by their model to the exclusion of sound phonetic research.

It was shown, then, how the phonetic symbols themselves interrelate, are equivalent, and extend the possible ways in which they relate to one another. The practical use of IPA symbols was thereby expanded. This was followed by a paradigmatic and comparative IPA phonetic transcription lexicon for various pidgin and creole languages.



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